

# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

N<sup>o</sup> CXXX.

## ART. I.—WARREN HASTINGS IN LOWER BENHAL.

A GOOD biography of Warren Hastings has yet to be written. Gleig's book is tasteless and verbose, and full of unblushing panegyric; while Macaulay's Essay is not a complete life and is too brilliant to be perfectly just. Originally written as an anonymous article in a review, it has not escaped the defects of such a mode of composition, and is described by the essayist himself in one of his opening sentences as being a "necessarily hasty and imperfect" performance.

The fame of the founders of British India has indeed been but indifferently cared for. There are two lives of Clive, but the first, which professes to be written by Charles Caraccioli, gentleman, is the production of a rancorous enemy, who apparently has not scrupled to enlist the services of cast-off pimps and parasites, and the second is tedious and uninforming. The manner in which Lord Clive's death is described is characteristic of the two books. Caraccioli gloats over the details, and Sir John Malcolm's continuator is so refined and mysterious that one would hardly know from his book that Clive committed suicide! There is no life of Major Lawrence, or of Admiral Watson, who was perhaps the only man among our Indian leaders who was at once capable and upright; nor is there a life of Sir Eyre Coote. The only Indian Statesman of the last century whose life has been properly written, is Sir Philip Francis, and he owes this distinction, not to his career in Bengal, but to his having been the author of Junius, and consequently the Indian portion of his life has been somewhat meagrely treated of. Considering what the lives and actions of most of our so-called Indian heroes really were, and the circumstances under which our Indian empire was formed, it is no doubt better for individual reputations, and even for the fame of our country, that the waves of obscurity and forgetfulness should continue to engulf much of our Eastern annals. But history does not consist in the dressing up of the reputation of men or nations, and it requires that the whole truth should be told. The history of our Indian empire is pre-eminently that of the



actions of ordinary men in extraordinary circumstances. Of course it must often show that the men have been unequal for the occasion, but there is no more valuable though simpler lesson taught by history than that of the frightful evils which may result from men or nations being set to tasks too hard for them. And no one who knows himself, or human nature, will be disposed to scorn or unduly upbraid his Anglo-Indian forefathers for their crimes or errors, or to think them worse than their fellows.

There is no lack of materials for a life of Hastings. Gleig's book, bad as it is, contains many valuable letters; and there are numerous bulky volumes of manuscript in the India Office. Perhaps, however, the most valuable collection of papers is that in the British Museum, and which was acquired in 1872, by purchase from a Mrs. Kinter. It consists of 268 volumes and extends from 1757 down to 1818.

Much of it consists of copies of the proceedings of the council of Fort William, and is thus of exhausted interest, or is only a repetition of what may be found elsewhere. But there are also many private letters and some interesting essays on Indian subjects. There is a small quarto containing the originals of letters from Warren Hastings to his wife, and which, as being especially valuable, is preserved among the selected manuscripts. On a fly leaf is written "Letters from my excellent husband when I was at Hugly and Chinsurah." Among these is a letter describing the duel with Francis, and a subsequent one in which Hastings writes "I have now the pleasure to tell you that Mr. Francis is in no manner of danger, the ball having passed through the muscular part of his back just below the shoulder without penetrating or injuring any of the bones." The volume, however, is chiefly composed of letters written at a later period. One or two are copies of letters which are stated to have been sent by Hastings, in quills, when he was in Chunar. "Oh that I could see my sweet Marian for one hour" is the impassioned phrase of one of these letters. The longest letters are those written to Mrs. Hastings when she was on her way home to England. They breathe the most ardent affection, and I cannot find in them the ceremoniousness or solemn courtesy which Macaulay describes his letters as displaying. They, however, are not interesting except as indications of feeling, and incline one to suppose that Mrs. Hastings was not intellectual, or at least did not participate in the public cares of her husband.

In one he writes "do not be lazy, the morning air, I mean the breeze which the rising sun sets in motion, will do you more good than all the rest of the day. And remember the Persian proverb: which says, that the air of paradise passes between a horse's ears to the rider that does not take too much of it, nor





expose herself to the heat of the sun." In another he tells her that he will never consent to her going again to Beercool, as there are very large alligators in that neighbourhood. I shall return to these letters further on; and now proceed to notice a correspondence which is of much more general interest. This is a thin folio containing copies of letters written from Calcutta by a Mr. Tisoe Saul Hancock to his wife in England. It is not quite clear how these letters came to be among the Hastings MSS., though there is abundant evidence that Hancock was one of Hastings' dependents; Mrs. Hancock was also a great friend of Hastings and possibly a relation. Hancock was originally a medical man, but he disliked his profession and engaged in trade, in which by his own account he was not very successful. His letters to his dear Phila (Philadelphia) give so many interesting details of Calcutta life, that I shall insert extracts from them in an appendix. Those which relate to Hastings will be noticed in their place.

The only parts of Hastings' life which still remain in obscurity are his childhood and the interval between his first and second residences in India (1765-1769); but as he himself was always averse to speaking of these periods, it is probable that they did not contain much that was worthy of record, and it would be unfair, even if it were possible, to lift the veil which hangs over them.

In the following essay I shall not attempt to discuss the whole career of Hastings. All I propose doing is to describe his administration of Bengal, and especially to examine his conduct in the case of Nandkumar. The latter incident has been treated of by Macaulay, but he has not gone fully into it, and it appears to me, that he has not done justice to Nandkumar and has let off Hastings much too easily.

Some writers have been foolish or prejudiced enough to declare Hastings perfectly innocent in the affair. Macaulay was far too clear-sighted and too honourable a man to commit such a folly, but he has committed an error which is, I think, of much more dangerous consequence. He has lavished scorn and invective on Sir Elijah Impey, who, after all, was a very subordinate villain in the drama, and has thrown such a glamour over Hastings' share in the matter that we rise from the perusal of the essay with minds much fuller of admiration for the daring and skill of Hastings than of disgust at his cruelty and want of principle.

After detailing all the iniquities of the trial and sentence, and after declaring in his own epigrammatic fashion that everybody except idiots and biographers is of opinion that Hastings was the real mover in the business, he makes the following extraordinary remark:—"While, therefore, we have not the least doubt that this memorable execution is to be attributed to Hastings, we doubt



whether it can with justice be reckoned among his crimes." Surely there is a strange inconsequence here, and one much more lamentable and surprising than that which the essayist finds in the conduct of Pitt with regard to the Cheyte Singh charge. If Nandkumar was murdered, the brand should be stamped on the man for whose advantage, and at whose instigation the murder was committed, and not on the humble instrument. After all, it was not Impey but the jury who found Nandkumar guilty, and who got him hanged, and possibly both Impey and the jury really believed that Nandkumar had forged, and that he deserved death. The man, however, who put all this in motion was Hastings, and but for him the prosecution would never have occurred, and he therefore is guilty of Nandkumar's blood. So far from the execution not being one of Hastings' crimes, we are inclined to think it is the worst he ever committed, for it is the only one which he seems to have committed solely for his own advantage. In the Rohilla war and in the maltreatment of Cheyte Singh and the Begums of Oude he had the interests of others to serve, and probably he did not reap any personal advantage from these transactions. But the sole object of the prosecution of Nandkumar was a selfish one. Hastings had taken gifts or bribes, it was inconvenient for him to acknowledge this or to make restitution, and so he killed his accuser. There was nothing heroic or even excusable in this, and there is no reason why we should refuse to condemn him for it. Macaulay insinuates, rather than asserts, that Nandkumar's charges were false, but if so, why was he put to death, or why did Hastings never at any time attempt to clear himself?

What makes it the more important that the case of Nandkumar should be set in its true light, is that a work has recently been published under the sanction of the India Office, in which the old rubbish about Hastings' innocence and the malignity of Francis and Elliot has been reproduced. Mr. Markham has apparently found it impossible to edit the travels of Bogle and Manning without having a fling at the accusers of Hastings and at Lord Macaulay. Mr. Markham is, I suppose, a descendant of the Archbishop who distinguished himself by his impertinent interference with Burke's cross-examination of Mr. Auriol, and of whom one of Hastings' correspondents (Pechell) thus significantly writes—"The Archbishop of York is an active and steady friend, and such as a man should be who is thoroughly grateful for the favor you have shown his son."

The connection of Hastings with Bengal commenced in 1750 when he was only seventeen years of age, and continued with interruptions till 1785. This was an unusually long time for a civilian to have been connected with India, and yet Hastings left the country in the maturity of his powers and lived three



and thirty years in England. A few particulars about his early years may here be given. He was born in December 1732. His mother died a few days after his birth, and his father shortly afterwards deserted him, so that he was left dependent on his maternal uncle. In the Hastings MSS, B. M. No. 29,232, there is a copy of a very lengthy petition, dated November 1733, and addressed to the Lord Chancellor by Warren Hastings and his sister Ann, through their uncle and next friend, John Warren, of Twining in Gloucestershire. The object was to get possession of some little property belonging to their mother, Hester Warren, and the petitioners state that their father Ponyston Hastings of Churchhill in the county of Oxford, clerk, had "lately withdrawn himself from his habitation to some distant secret place and left your orator and oratrix wholly unregarded and unprovided for." At a later period they appear to have been supported by their father's brother Howard.

Hastings set sail for India in January 1750, when he was barely seventeen, and arrived at Calcutta on the 8th October. A memorandum by Hastings, quoted by Mr. Gleig, states that he was the last of eight young men who composed the list of the establishment for the year. The paper, which appears to have been a sort of autobiography, ended at this point with the following observations: "This is all that I shall retain in writing of my private history though the particulars of it, if known, might afford much subject of curious speculation both from their influence on the temper and disposition of mind which constituted my public character and from one circumstance of peculiar uniformity attending the whole course of my existence to the present moment and probably to its ultimate and now not remote period—that of a solitary insulated wanderer through life, placed, by His will who governs all things, in a situation to give birth to events which were connected with the interests of nations; which were uniformly prosperous to those of his own (nation) but productive to himself of years of depression and persecution, and of the chances of want only relieved by occasional and surely providential means, though never affecting the durable state of his mental tranquillity." Hastings, according to Mr. Gleig, remained two full years in Calcutta and was employed there as an assistant in the Secretary's Office. Nothing further appears to be known of his residence in Calcutta. Probably much of his time was spent in learning the native languages, though I am not aware that there is any ground for Lord Macaulay's statement that Hastings was deeply skilled in Persian and Arabic literature. He himself said: "I never acquired a perfect knowledge of Persian, and what I did know was acquired from official practice." In October 1753 Hastings was sent to the Factory at Cossimbazar (Murshedabad) and in



1755 he became a member of the council there. After the taking of Cossimbazar in 1756 by Suraja Doula, he was made a prisoner, but was permitted to go at large, Mr. Synett the chief of the Dutch Factory at Cullapore,\* giving bail for his appearance. Mr. Gleig quotes the above from a memorandum by Hastings and adds "nor is this all." "Mr. Drake," continues the memorandum, "and his council wrote to me from Fulta, the place of their residence, near the mouth of the river, after their flight from Calcutta, desiring me to send them intelligence from Murshedabad, and to that correspondence I owe my first consequence in the service."

Holwell in his account of the Black Hole, and of his subsequent journey to Murshedabad, mentions the kindness of the Dutch officer referred to in the above memorandum. He calls him Mynheer Vernet, and says that he and M. Law left no means unessayed to procure their release. He adds "We were not a little indebted to the obliging, good-natured behaviour of Messrs. Hastings and Chambers, who gave us as much of their company as they could. They had obtained their liberty by the French and Dutch chiefs becoming bail for their appearance. This security was often tendered for us but without effect."

In the Hastings' M.S., vol. 29,209, there is a curious and minute account of the surrender of Cossimbazar and the taking of Calcutta. It throws the blame of the loss of Cossimbazar on Mr. Watts, accusing him of pusillanimity and saying that he made his appearance before the Nawab with his hands tied by a handkerchief. It is incidentally mentioned in this paper that Holwell came originally to India as a surgeon. The subject of the loss of Cossimbazar is referred to in Holwell's letter to the Court of Directors, dated Fulta, 30th November 1756, and in it he says that Hastings and another officer escaped the indignity of being put into irons and sent to the common prison at Murshedabad by their being out at the time amongst silk factories.

The following note in the Hastings' M.S. may be here inserted, though it carries down the biography to a later period than I am now dealing with. It is evidently written by some friend of Hastings and possibly by Major Scott.

"Mr. Hastings, who has since made so much noise in the world, after an education in Westminster, went as writer to Bengal in the year 1750 in the 18th year of his age. In 1754 he was selected to establish an aurung in the interior parts of Bengal for the increase of the silk investment of the company. In this situation he remained totally secluded from all society with his countrymen and much esteemed by the natives,

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\* There is a reference to Hastings' duties as silk agent, dated 24th November 1755, at page 61 of Mr. Long's Selections.



till June 1756 when Surajah Dowlah attacked and took Calcutta. Orders were sent to seize every Englishman in Bengal, and Mr. Hastings was brought a prisoner to Murshedabad. Having lived some time at Cossimbazar and speaking the language perfectly, he was known to many of the principal persons in Surajah Dowlah's Court, so by their intercession and the mediation of the Dutch Governor of Culanpore, upon whose widow Mr. Hastings settled £300 a year for her life, he was released from his confinement and joined the English at Fulta previous to their return to Calcutta. He carried arms as a volunteer in the storming of Surajah Dowlah's camp after the recapture of Calcutta. After the battle of Plassey he was appointed assistant to Scrafton, then sent as minister to the Court of Mir Jaffir. In this office he succeeded him in 1758 and continued in it till February 1761, when he succeeded to a seat in council. He had no sort of concern in the Revolution of 1760, but he always approved and defended the measure as indispensably necessary for our existence. June 1761 to February 1765 he steadily supported Vansittart."

In March 1763, when the question of making the gomastahs or "black agents" of the English, subject to the country powers, was brought before the council, Hastings gave the following interesting statement of his early experiences:

"From the peculiarity of the times and natural propensity in the weaker part of manhood to run from one extreme to another, it has unfortunately happened that the power suddenly placed in the hands of the Nabob's officers for the protection of his people has been so extravagantly abused as to give occasion to a persuasion in many that no power can with safety be trusted in their hands. As I have formerly lived amongst the country people in a very inferior station,\* and at a time when we were subject to the most slavish dependence on the Government, and having met with the greatest indulgence and even respect from the zamindars and officers of the Government, I can with the greater confidence deny the justice of this opinion; and the further from repeated experience that if our people instead of erecting themselves into lords and oppressors of the country confine themselves to an honest and fair trade and submit themselves to the lawful authority of the governments, they will be everywhere trusted and respected; the English name instead of becoming a reproach will be universally revered, the country will reap a benefit from our commerce, and the power of the English, which is now made a bugbear to frighten the poor inhabitants into submitting to injury and oppression, will be regarded by them as their greatest blessing and protection. It is as impossible for any State to

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\* Note by Vansittart. "A junior servant of the Company at the silk aurungs."



subsist with a divided power as with none; our servants are as like to make an ill use of their power as the Nabob's are, but are not so easily to be restrained. In whose hands, therefore, will it be so properly lodged as in those of the governments to whom it belongs? To take from them this right (a right which we should never suffer to be questioned in our own districts,) will be to introduce oppression, rapine and anarchy into the country which we are engaged to protect, and whatever temporary advantage individuals may gain from such a scene of troubles, the affairs of the Company must infallibly suffer by it, if not be involved in one common ruin with the country. Permit me to add, it has been observed that the wisest and most permanent states have ever left to conquered nations the exercise of their own laws and by that means ensured their subjection. The power which we have acquired in these provinces has reduced them to a condition as nearly resembling a conquest as it is for our interests to wish it, but if we take so ungenerous as well as impolitic an advantage of this weakness as to put it into the power of every Banyan who calls himself an English servant to tyrannise over the inhabitants without control, this is not only to deprive them of their own laws but to refuse them even the benefit of any."

I think that the above is creditable both to Hastings and to the natives of Bengal. It is especially honourable to Hastings that he wished to put the banyans under the country powers. He stood alone in this view; even Vansittart, who was president, deserting him on this occasion and voting against him.

While at Murshedabad, Hastings engaged in plots against Surajah Dowla, and when they were discovered he fled, first to Chunar and afterwards to Fulta. At this last place he is said to have made the acquaintance of a widow-lady—Mrs. Campbell, whom he shortly afterwards married. She was the widow of a Captain Campbell who was in the Company's service, and very probably was the Captain Dugald Campbell, whose commission Holwell refused to sign at Fulta on the ground that Drake and the others had divested themselves of all right or pretension to the government by abandoning Calcutta when it was besieged. Mrs. Campbell was in Calcutta when it was besieged, and if her husband had then held the rank of Captain his name would doubtless have appeared in Holwell and Orme's minute descriptions.\* Orme tells us that after the taking of Budge-Budge by the English relieving force, some drunken sailors got into

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\* I do not know how Mrs. Campbell escaped from Calcutta, but I cherish a hope that she may have been one of the ladies who were so chivalrously rescued by one of Mir Jaffir's

officers. (See the *Siyar-ul-Mutakharin*. When we think of the horrors of the Black Hole, we should not forget this honourable incident of the siege.



it, and taking the sepoy's there for the enemy, fired a volley and killed Captain Campbell, an officer of the Company's troops. It is very probable that this was Mrs. Hastings' first husband, but if so she must have married a second time in 1757, and not in 1756 as stated by Gleig, for Captain Campbell was killed at Budge-Budge in December 1756.

From the Hastings' papers it appears that Mrs. Campbell was an Irish lady, and that her maiden name was Jones: for in February 1759 Hastings sends Mr. Creswick a bill of exchange for £200 and asks him to transmit the amount to Mrs. Catherine Jones of Arklow, in the county of Wicklow, adding that she was his wife's mother and that the money was for her use and that of a daughter by his wife's first husband.

Mrs. Hastings had two children by her second marriage, one a daughter who died 19 (the correct number is 23) days after her birth, and the other a son who survived only long enough to be sent home for his education (Gleig). I have found some references to her in the Hastings' papers and proceed to note them.

In a letter from Hastings to Mr. Richard Becher, dated Moradbag (Murshedabad), 13th November 1758, he writes: "I am greatly concerned to hear that Mrs. Becher's indisposition has increased. I wish you would let me persuade you to try what effects the Cossimbazar air may have upon her. The great benefit which Mrs. Hastings received from her coming up to Cossimbazar is my principal inducement for recommending the same remedy to Mrs. Becher. I will candidly own that another not inconsiderable motive is the procuring Mrs. Hastings an agreeable companion, and I hope I need not assure you that nothing will be wanting on her part to contribute, as far as lies in her power, to Mrs. Becher's recovery." I do not know if the invitation was accepted, but it appears from that curious record, the Bengal Obituary (Calcutta, 1848,) that Mrs. Becher died on the 14th October 1759 and was buried in St. John's churchyard. The inscription stated that her death was the result of a long illness occasioned by grief for the death of an only daughter who died at Fulta on 30th November 1756. Mr. Becher, who seems to have been one of the best and most honest of the Company's servants of the day, returned to England, but suffered losses and had to come out again in his old age in 1781, and died in the following year at the age of 61 and was buried in South Park Street burial ground. The inscription is a long one and begins by saying that the stone is sacred to the memory of an honest man.

In a letter to Mr. Creswick,\* without date, but which appears to

\* Is this the Mr. Chiswick mentioned by Gleig as the gentleman who gave Hastings his writership. If so, Mr. Gleig's insinuation that Mr. Chiswick neglected Hastings seems to be undeserved.



have been written in December 1758, Hastings writes: "I have received your favour of the 23rd January 1758, and am greatly obliged to you for the generous concern you express for my welfare." He then proceeds to condole with him on the death of Mrs. Creswick and adds, "I was afraid the step which I had taken in my marriage would not have appeared to you in the most prudent light. It is a very great addition to my happiness to find that it has met with your approbation. I told you when I first acquainted you with the news of my marriage (as every man would upon the same occasion) that I thought myself happy. I can now with much greater confidence repeat it, having, besides a great similarity in our dispositions, which I think must principally contribute to the happiness of the married state, experienced every good quality in my wife, which I always most wished for in a woman. I acquainted you last year with the birth of my son who is grown a very fine child. My wife was brought to bed of a daughter, the 5th of last October, whom I intended to have called by the name of my benefactress, Mrs. Creswick, but she was carried off by a sudden fit of sickness in the twenty-third day after her birth. I have already informed you of my appointment as second in Council at the Factory of Cossimbazar. My partner, Mr. Sykes, is the third, and the business of the Company's investment has been principally carried on through our hands since the late revolution. The beginning of last August produced another change in my situation. I have since that time resided at the station in the quality of agent for the Company's transactions with Government, which, if not the most profitable, is one of the most creditable employs in the service. I still retain the post of second Export Warehouse Keeper at Cossimbazar, where my family have continued to reside from my appointment to this place. I have met with considerable advantages in trade; if I live, and any fresh troubles commence in the country, I promise myself, with the blessing of God on my endeavours, a rapid return to my own country. One very remarkable event has happened, since my last, in these parts: a very strong and noble fortification has been erecting in Calcutta, the outworks of which will be finished, I hope, in another twelve-month. I forget whether I informed you that one of the articles of the treaty with the Nabob was that the Company should possess a large tract of land to the southward of Calcutta, paying the customary rents to the King's treasury. This acquisition, I hope, will be confirmed in a few days by a patent granted to the Company in the King's name, this having been the subject of the negotiations at the Durbar for the two months past. As the management of this affair has been entrusted principally to my care, and there is the greatest appearance of its terminating



greatly to the advantage of the Company, I hope it may be a means of recommending me to your notice. My wife begs leave to present her respects to you and joins me in the warmest wishes for your and your family's health and happiness."

The latter part of this letter refers to negotiations which Hastings was carrying on with Mir Jaffir for procuring a proper deed for the Company's lands. I will return to this subject further on and meanwhile proceed with the notices of Mrs. Hastings.

9th December 1758. "Mrs. Hastings joins with her husband in compliments to Mr. Holwell."

2nd January 1759 "Mrs. Hastings and George (his son) are pretty much the same as you left them, George a little better."

The next entry refers to Mrs. Hastings' death, which must have taken place in the end of June or beginning of July 1759,\* for on the 4th of the latter month, Hastings writes to Clive: "You have, I doubt not, heard of the misfortune which has befallen me in the loss of my wife. For this cause, I cannot immediately attend on the Nabob, but Mr. Sykes will wait on him in my stead tomorrow, in order to lay before him the subject of your letter, and I shall endorse this application by a letter to the Nabob, which will, I hope, prove as effectual as if I spoke to him in person about it. I flatter myself you will readily admit of this excuse for my non-attendance at the Durbar. The stroke I have received has proved too severe for me to recollect myself in an instant, or to allow me such a command of myself as I would choose to possess in every negotiation that I undertook on the Company's or your behalf. In a very few days I shall return to the city, and if there should remain any affair unsettled, I shall apply myself with the most assiduous attention to the conclusion of them."

On 15th July he writes to Scrafton in words which show both his grief for the loss of his wife and his dislike of Nandkumar. "Nandkumar's only business that I know of at the city was to upset Daya Ram, which he has laboured at with all his might, but in vain, a proceeding that I should not pass over with so much patience, but that the unhappy situation I have been in, since my arrival, has assured him too fair an opportunity to act as he pleases with impunity." On 2nd August he writes to Holwell, thanking him for

\* Mrs. Hastings' tomb is still to be seen near Berhampur, and bears the following inscription, for which I am indebted to the kindness of the Magistrate. It appears, however, that the date is wrong, possibly it is that of the child's death.

In memory of  
Mrs. Mary Hastings  
and Her Daughter

Elizabeth,  
who died 11th July 1759?  
in the 2nd (?) year of her age.  
This monument was erected  
By her Husband,  
Warren Hasting, Esq.,  
in due regard to Her Memory.  
Restored by Government of  
Bengal 1863.



his sympathy : "Severe as they (his misfortunes) were, I have, I thank God, strength of mind sufficient to bear them, and to submit myself to the will of Providence though it has fallen to the lot of very few men so early in life to be forced to so cruel a trial as I have."

9th August he writes recommending Mr. Alves for the post of Surgeon to the Factory, and says : "it is the general desire of the gentlemen of Cossimbazar, and my own in particular, from the experience I have had of his diligence and tenderness in his late attendance on Mrs. Hastings." This letter was addressed to Clive, who it seems objected to Alves and preferred Hancock. Hastings wrote again on the 23rd August, but I do not know what was the result.

Hastings sent his son George home in 1761, apparently in charge of Mr. Sykes. On 12th May 1762, Vansittart writes to him : "by the letters Hancock has forwarded to you, you will know that the *Royal Duke* arrived safe in the beginning of August, and that your little boy and his good friend Sykes were well, and I very sincerely take part in the joy which this must give you." On the 23rd idem, Hastings replies in the measured and somewhat formal style which Macaulay finds in his letters to "his elegant Marian : " "I am infinitely obliged to you for joining with my other good friends in mentioning the safe arrival of my son in England, and can assure you that the joy which this news has given me has received no small increase from the part which you take in it."

The boy did not live long. Mr. Gleig tells us that Hastings was told of his son's death almost the first thing after landing in England (1765) and that the sorrow affected him during the whole of his stay there.

I return to Hastings' public career. The earliest letter of his, preserved in the British Museum, is dated Moradbaug, 12th November 1757, Moradbaug, as Bolts tells us, being a garden of the Nabob, some distance out of Murshedabad. The early letters are not of any special interest. The only one I noted was dated 21st February 1758, and informed Mr. Summer and the Council at Dacca, that a purwana had been obtained for the coining of 2½ lacs at the Dacca mint.

Hastings became resident at the court of Murshedabad in July or August 1758, but apparently his formal appointment was not made till some eighteen months later, for I find a letter dated 14th December 1759, signed "your loving friends," by Clive and others, conferring the appointment on him.

On 12th August 1758, Hastings writes to Clive, "Mr. Watts acquainted me, when he was at this place, that he had orders from the Board of Calcutta to appoint me the resident for the Company at Moradbaug in the room of Mr. Scrafton, who



has accordingly delivered over the management of the affairs of of this place to my charge. I have already been introduced by Mr. Watts to the Nabob, and the principal persons of this city, but as this is very insufficient to give me the credit and influence which a person in this situation ought to be invested with, I request the favor of you, sir, to give me letters to the Nabob, and the Chota Nabob, recommending me strongly to their notice as a person appointed by your direction, and the Company's agent at this place, for the management of all affairs of the Durbar. The same introduction, I think, would be necessary to the Seats, and Roy Doolub whenever he may return. The Nabob being now on his way to Calcutta, should it meet with your approval, it would be of signal service to me were you to mention me to him as a person in whom you have confidence and recommend me to him in that light. I need not mention to you, sir, how necessary it will be to give me some consequence in my first introduction to an employ of such importance, as on this, my success in it, will in a great measure entirely depend; which consideration, I hope, will excuse my giving you this trouble."

"As I look upon myself to be indebted principally to you for being elevated to this office, of whatsoever advantage it may prove to me with respect to my own private interest, I think it incumbent on me to make my sincere acknowledgements to you for your favourable intentions herein, which I cannot do better than by a constant attention to the business entrusted to my charge, and my earnest endeavours to promote the interests of the Company as far as my capacity will enable me, in which I hope I shall have the good fortune to meet with your approval." This letter is certainly not a good specimen of style, and shows the verbosity which is characteristic of what Macaulay has called, the copious official eloquence of India. Clive answered it on the 20th August, and sent him letters\* of introduction. Hastings' pleasure in his appointment was not long in being disturbed. The first thorn was Nandkumar's appointment to collect the revenues of Burdwan and Nadiya. Hastings thought this was an interference with his prerogatives, and was much aggrieved. On 25th August, 1758, his friend Scrafton writes to him from Calcutta, "I am vexed when I write you that Nandkumar is appointed Collector of the revenues of Burdwan, Nadiya and Hugli by the Committee. This takes Burdwan and Nadiya out of your power: you will have nothing more to do than to collect for the other balances." Scrafton's letters contain frequent allusions to this subject and complain that Nandkumar is supported by Watts. He significantly adds "whenever you have any public complaint against him (Nandkumar) don't fail to represent it

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\* Misprinted April in Gleig.



to the Council." On 2nd September he writes, "nothing that can aggrandise Nandkumar will be omitted" (*i.e.*, I presume, by Clive and Watts). Hastings was not long in acting on Scrafton's advice, for on the 7th September he wrote to Clive: "I was greatly surprised at the contents of a letter which I received two days ago from the Burdwan Rajah informing me that Nandkumar had sent peons to him with orders to pay the revenues to him at Hugli, and to repair immediately to Calcutta in order to settle the monthly payments of his tuncaws for the present year."

He then proceeds to express his disbelief that Nandkumar's proceedings were authorised by Clive, and to state that he has forbidden the Burdwan Rajah to obey Nandkumar's orders (see the letter and Clive's reply in Gleig.)

Clive lost no time in answering this letter, for on the 10th September\* he wrote, "I have just now received your letter of the 7th instant, the contents of which, I must confess, have surprised me as much as Nandkumar's appointment could you for I cannot account for your ignorance that Nandkumar was to be appointed Collector of the Revenues of Burdwan, Nadiya, and Hugli for the two ensuing years, and that the money collected was to be paid at Hugli. This was agreed upon at Murshedabad when I was there and before we had, thoughts of desiring you to accept of the management of the Darbar affairs, and our reasons for desiring to have the money paid at Hugli, in preference to Muxadabad were to avoid giving the Nabob and the great men about him umbrage in seeing such large sums coming into the Treasury and then sent out again for the use of the English." Hastings made a rejoinder on the 14th September, and his letter, though showing that he was deeply aggrieved at his supersession, yet is an admirable specimen of sense and temper. It is the more remarkable when we remember that the writer was then only twenty-five years old, and that he had recently undergone the disturbing influence of an elevation to one of the highest appointments in the country. He writes: "As I know not whether any part of the remaining balances belong to the Hugli accounts, I am entirely at a loss how to proceed with them, being apprehensive of meeting with a fresh mortification, in case I should again meddle with any of the zemindaries of Nandkumar's jurisdiction. It would ill become me to object against any measures which have had the sanction of your and the Council's approbation. I shall therefore cheerfully apply myself to the small part of the business which

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\* Holwell mentions in his letter of 30th November. 1756, that when the Calcutta Council heard that Surajah Doula was marching against Cossim-bazar they sent off letters there to arrive in thirty-six hours, and ordered a large reward to the Kossids (messengers, if they arrived in the time.



still remains upon my hands, of which I hope very shortly to have acquitted myself." He then goes on to explain that he "knew that Nandkumar was to be appointed Collector of the Burdwan and Nadiya revenues, but neither Mr. Watts nor Mr. Scrafton ever gave me the least intimation that such parts of their revenues as were included in their accounts of the last six months were to be taken out of my hands. He adds that he has heard that Nandkumar has put peons on the gomastah at Hugli. "I must suppress what I feel from these daily indignities; but surely, sir, I may at least conclude that this proceeding is without your authority, otherwise it will be impossible for me to know what accounts will remain in my charge; and I am sure, sir, it was never your intention in placing me at Moradbaug that I should only hold the business for Nandkumar till he was properly settled and at leisure to take it out of my hands."

Apparently, Hastings had some ground for feeling irritated, though of course the party to blame was Clive and not Nandkumar. Clive was a soldier\* and not versed in the formalities of civil business. We have already seen how he appears to have neglected to give Hastings a proper letter of appointment, and now we find him causing heart-burnings and confusion by apprising neither Hastings nor the Rajah of Burdwan of the powers conferred on Nandkumar. But, whether justly or not, it seems evident that Hastings nourished strong resentment against Nandkumar. In a letter of November 1758, he writes that the Nabob is greatly enraged against Nandkumar, and adds that he thinks he would be wanting in his duty if he did not acquaint Clive with the Nabob's sentiments. The Nabob says he was surprised at our attachment to such a man; that he deserved as little from the Company as from him (the Nabob); Hastings then rather hypocritically adds: "I own it is no very agreeable office to me to say anything that may turn to prejudice of another person."

Again in the draft of a letter of 20th November there is the passage: "I cannot omit to inform your Honor that every time I have visited the Nabob he has continually expressed the greatest dissatisfaction with Nandkumar's appointments." It would seem, however, that Hastings did after all, prevail on himself to omit this information, for the passage is scored out in the draft, and does not appear in the letter as printed by Mr. Gleig. No doubt Hastings considered on reflection, that any remarks by him against Nandkumar would be received with suspicion.

In a letter to Scrafton, Hastings writes: "Jagat Chand, Nand-

\* Clive's famous orders to Colonel Ford about attacking the Dutch: "by-and-bye" are a specimen of his "My dear Ford, fight them directly; off-hand way of doing business."



kumar's son-in-law, tells every body here that a strong party was formed against Nandkumar in order to exclude him the tuncaw concerns, but that he got the better of them all by advising the Colonel (Clive) to send Mr. Lushington into Burdwan as Collector there. A strange story!"

Clive seems to have held firmly to Nandkumar, and on 28th November, he writes to Hastings: "I cannot think Nandkumar deserving of the Nabob's resentment without it be for his known attachment to the English, of which I am fully assured. The Burdwan revenues are little or nothing behind-hand, the tuncaws in the other lands he has nothing to do with, the true cause of the Nabob's hatred to Nandkumar proceeds from his not joining with Oomar Beg in Roy Doolab's ruin and overthrow. Nandkumar has now under the Nabob's own hands offers of a title and jaghir if he would bring the affair of Roy Doolab's letter to a good issue. By this you will judge what the Nabob is about. You may lay it down as a maxim that the Masalmans will never be influenced by kind treatment to do us justice. Their own apprehensions only, can and will induce them to fulfil their agreements. The present situation of our affairs requires our being more compliant than would be consistent with the interests of the Company at any other time." It is evident that Clive was right in his reasons for the Nabob's resentment against Nandkumar, and Hastings in a letter of 9th December 1758, acknowledged this.\* It seems that the Nabob had produced a letter purporting to be from Roy Doolab to Kajah Huddin, one of Mir Jaffir's generals, in which it was requested that the latter should assassinate Mir Jaffir † and asserted that Saba Jang, *i.e.*, Clive, was cognisant of this scheme and approved of it. Clive was very angry that Mir Jaffir should imagine him to be capable of entering into such a plot and it seems that the part Nandkumar took in the business was to prove that the letter was a forgery. (There is a translation of the letter in a note to Malcolm's life of Clive, p. 382. See also an account of the matter in Orme.)

Though Clive defended Nandkumar on this occasion, yet it is but fair to Hastings to notice that Clive had, at a subsequent period, a very poor opinion of Nandkumar, for on 20th May 1765 he writes to General Carnac. "Although Nandkumar may not prove guilty of the crimes laid to his charge yet, believe me, my dear General, he will do no honour either to the Nabob or to the Company in any great or eminent post, which he never was fitted

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\* Hastings writes to Clive that he did not know before the Nabob's cause of resentment against Nandkumar, not knowing before that he (Nandkumar) was concerned in detecting the forgery of the letter to Kajah Huddin.

† Kajah Huddin was himself assassinated at Shahabad in November 1758 (Holwell's Tracts.)



or designed for; and I can give you unanswerable reasons against his being the principal person about the Nabob when I have the pleasure of seeing you."

I have been thus minute in recording the origin of Hastings' dislike to Nandkumar because I think it throws light on the events which took place sixteen or seventeen years later. It suited Hastings' purpose to say, in 1772\* that "from the year 1759 to the time when I left Bengal in 1764, I was engaged in a continued opposition to the interests and designs of that man (Nandkumar), because I judged them to be adverse to the welfare of my employers." In reality his dislike began at an earlier date, and proceeded from a less honourable cause than a zeal for the Company's interests.

Mrs. Fay tells us in her letter that one of Hastings' characteristics was, that he never forgave. It was on this account that she was so afraid of her husband's irritating him. This characteristic seems to mark his relation to Nandkumar and there is little doubt that the Governor-General of 1772 and 1775 retained a deep sense of the affronts which the young Resident at Murshe-dabad had sustained in 1758.

The attention to forms which every official acquires, and which we have seen exhibiting itself in Hastings' applications for letters of introduction, and in his complaints about Nandkumar, now led him to detect a serious omission in the Company's title to their zamindari. On 27th September, 1758, he writes, "I have lately discovered what I consider to be a great defect in the Company's present title to the new lands granted them by the late treaty with the Nabob. I understand that these lands are at present held only by virtue of the Nabob's parwanah; but no sanad has yet been granted for them nor have they been duly entered in the Kanungo books as the zamindari of the Company, being stated therein the Mudakhelat of (or lands possessed by) the English Company, as you will observe in the account included in my last in which they are so named, they being a copy of the Kanungo books. This distinction may perhaps appear trivial, but may hereafter prove a subject of great contention if proper measures are not taken to prevent it in time. The Nabob's parwana will, I doubt not, be of sufficient validity during his life, but can be of no force with his successors if they choose to dispute it."

The negotiations about the Sanad occupied two months. On 20th November, Hastings reported that he had paid the Nabob a lac of rupees in accordance with the President's orders. The Nabob asked for a second lac, also for a loan of two more and

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\* Letter from Hastings to Court of Directors, dated Cossimbazar, 1st Sept. 1772.



Hastings took the apparently very bold step of paying him a lac on his own responsibility, remarking that it was of the utmost consequence just at this juncture to keep upon the best terms with the Nabob. This proceeding shows that Hastings knew how to act in emergencies, and we are glad to find that his conduct was approved of by Clive. After all, Hastings only paid the Nabob his own money, for he adds that even after the payments the Company was in the Nabob's debt, and he encloses a statement of account to this effect. Hastings' letter gives minute details of the Sanad, and may be seen in Mr. Gleig's book.

There is a letter, dated 13th May 1759, from Clive, which reads strangely after what we know of his conduct to Omichand. Hastings had apparently made some crooked proposal and Clive writes as follows: "I have received your letters of the 27th and 29th ultimo, but by no means approve the proposal you made to the Nabob with respect to Roy Doolab; I perceive that your scheme in so doing was if possible to get at the true design of the Nabob's sending for the Mahrattas. However, I do not think it right that such artifices should be put in practice by us. I would leave all trickery to the Hindus and Musalmans, to whom it is natural, being well convinced that the reputation we have in the country is owing, among other causes, to the ingenuity (sic) and plain dealing for which we are distinguished."

In a letter without date, but probably written in end of 1758, Hastings writes to Clive that great complaints have been made by the Nabob against "one John Clarke who has taken possession of two or three Ganjes at Bakkergunge, (sic) in the Pargana of Buzurgumedpur, and set up English colours, making use of the English name to carry on an illicit trade and interfering with the zamindari and Government people in the collection of the revenues and customs. Having myself no authority to take cognisance of any affair of this kind, and being ignorant upon what accounts, or by whose orders this man resides at Bakkergunge, I have thought proper to acquaint you with the complaints alleged against him that you may take such notice of it as you may think it deserves."

After this comes a very creditably written French letter to a M. Courtin.

18th September 1759, a letter to Clive, begun in Latin, *Hodie matutino tempore, C. N. (Chota Nabob, the Nabob's son Minor) me in interiore conclave vocavit et remotis omnibus, hoc mihi mandatum dedit ad te scribendum; ex eo tempore quo domum rediit qui eum comitabantur milites tributarii ne obolum receperant. Jussu patris cunctos dimittere statutum est, ex illa causa his 25 diebus illi cum patre rixa orta est, nunc domi restat nec patrem plus adibit at ille ob hanc rem offensus causa necessitatis*



*cum domesticis qui restabunt libenter in tuum auxilium aderit vocatus.* "If he holds this resolution" (adds Hastings in English) "I am glad the dispute is indeed no worse but I much fear the influence of the base counsellors about him, and suspect he will not readily dismiss his forces without another struggle for them."

I do not know if this letter was forwarded to Clive, but we know that the latter knew some Latin, for in a letter given by Malcolm, vol. 2, p. 363, Clive says: "I can go through everything with pleasure as long as I can with truth and without vanity apply to myself those beautiful lines of Horace—*Iustum et tenacem propositi virum, &c.*" Malcolm, vol. 2, p. 106, gives an important letter of Hastings, dated 17th August 1759, urging Clive to remain in India. On 21st September, 1759, Clive writes: "Mir Jaffir's days of folly are without number, and he had long before this slept with his fathers if the dread of our power and resentment had not been his only security. Sooner or later, I am persuaded, the worthless young dog will attempt his father's overthrow. How often have I advised the old fool against putting too much power into the hands of his nearest relative. Tell him from me Rajah Ballabhis an aspiring ambitious villain; and if he does not get him removed from his son's presence he will push him to some violent and unnatural resolution."

Clive departed for England on 8th February, 1760, and was succeeded by Mr. Holwell. His reign only lasted till August when he was succeeded by Vansittart. It was, however, marked by the important incident of the dethronement of Mir Jaffir which was concocted and partly carried out by Holwell though the final arrangements were made by Vansittart. Holwell drew up a memorial describing his administration and this is published among his Tracts; it contains several letters to and from Hastings. Several of Holwell's letters contain pressing demands for money, and show the way in which poor old Mir Jaffir was tyrannised over. In one of 6th May, 1760, Holwell writes, "I am obliged to press your obtaining at least one lac of rupees, and that you will send it down with the utmost expedition." In the same letter he says that he had applied to the Setts for 10 or 15 lacs, which they, under various pretences, had refused. "However, I doubt not but an occasion may offer, for manifesting a proper resentment to that house for this refusal." Two days later he writes "a time may come when they (the Setts) may stand in need of the Company's protection in which case they may be assured they shall be left to Satan to be buffeted."

On 13th June, 1760, Holwell writes, that the Nabob had killed Aliverdi and Shaik Ahmed Khan's widows, and on the 21st instant Hastings writes, expressing great horror of the deed and concluding: "I have hitherto been generally an advocate for the Nabob,



whose extortions and oppressions I imputed to the necessity of the times, and want of economy in his revenues; but if the charge against him be true no arguments can excuse or palliate so atrocious and complicated a villany, nor (forgive me, sir, if I add) our supporting such a tyrant." It appears, however, from Verelst that the charge was greatly exaggerated, if not altogether false, as regards Mir Jaffir's share in the crime.

I may observe here that Holwell's Tracts and the other accounts of his behaviour do not give us a favourable impression of his character and abilities. He was a brave man and wrote a very interesting account of the Black Hole, but he appears to have been foolish and headstrong and was the cause of many troubles. His absurd conduct towards Narain Singh, Surajah Doula's messengers, (see his own account of the affair) seems to have led in part to Surajah Doula's attack on Calcutta, and his conduct to Mir Jaffir in 1760, was harsh and inconsiderate. One does not like to speak ill of a brave man, but on the whole it would have been better for India, and for his own reputation if Holwell had died in the Black Hole. He must have fallen into difficulties in his old age, for the inscription on Mr. Charles Weston's tomb (Bengal Obituary), recorded that he cherished in his old age his former employer and benefactor, Governor Holwell.

In July, 1760, Mir Jaffir's son, Miran, was killed by lightning, and this event proved the ruin of Mir Jaffir's affairs, for his troops mutinied afterwards for their pay and were only pacified by Mir Kassim, his son-in-law's paying them out of his own pocket. This of course gave Mir Kassim influence both with the soldiery and the English, and paved the way for his accession. Holwell's letter on hearing of the news of Miran's death is amusing from its duplicity. He writes in the first paragraph: "the sudden death of the young Nabob is very striking, and must, I think, occasion commotions in the provinces. Had Providence thought proper to have appointed, by the same flash, Rajah Raj Bullabh to attend him to the other world, the country would have had a double benefit." In the following paragraph of the same letter he writes: "you will signify to the Nabob that on the receipt of your letter, I paid every customary compliment to his son's memory, such as minute guns, colours of the Fort and ships hoisted half-mast, &c., and have wrote him also a separate letter of condolence on this melancholy occasion." On Miran's death the question arose of who should be his successor. The choice lay between Rajah Raj Bullabh and Mir Kassim; and Hastings wrote a long and interesting letter comparing the merits of the two men, and giving the decided preference to Mir Kassim. His advice was followed and Mir Kassim was chosen. At first it was merely intended to put him in Miran's place as



Diwan or Deputy Nawab, but on Mir Jaffir's refusing to come to terms he was deposed and Mir Kassim made Nabob in his stead. The first treaty with Mir Kassim was on 27th September 1760, and the deposition took place the following month.

A very interesting description of the deposition was given by Mr. Lushington, and there is also a very good account of it by Vansittart (see his book). It is impossible not to be sorry for poor old Mir Jaffir: "send me to Salah Jung, (Lord Clive,) he said, he will do me justice, or let me go to Mecca." From evidence given by Nandkumar in August 1766, we learn that Mir Jaffir wore the dress of a *faquir* ever after his deposition as an expression of his mortification and affliction. At this distance of time it is difficult and perhaps hardly worth while to discuss whether Raj Bullabh would not have been a better choice than Mir Kassim. I think, however, that probably Hastings' choice was a mistake. Mir Jaffir favoured Raj Bullabh, and surely he had a right to be consulted; and Raj Bullabh's appointment was, after all, more natural than Mir Kassim's. For it was not proposed to give Raj Bullabh the power for himself. He was only to exercise it as guardian for Miran's infant son, Sidu, who, I suppose, was the undoubted heir. Mir Jaffir therefore would have had no jealousy of Raj Bullabh, whereas Mir Kassim's appointment to the Diwanship at once made him fear that he would be deposed.

It is not true that Hastings took no part in this revolution. On the contrary, Mir Kassim's letters, &c., show that he was the go-between in the matter. Afterwards Vansittart received the Company's approval of the revolution and wrote to Hastings that he had the confirmation of the Company's approbation in *shoals* of private letters. This so delighted Hastings that he wrote in reply (15th April 1762) "interested as I am in its (the revolution's) success I can scarce bear with moderation the joy which this intelligence has given me."

No doubt the Company at first approved, for the revolution brought, according to Vansittart, the following advantages: "Firmans for Burdwan, Midnapur, and Chittagong, half the Sylhet lime, an order to the Shroffs to take the Calcutta sicca, a supply of money for the troops, and a present of three or four lacs for the Company." Afterwards the Company were not so well pleased with the bargain.

Hastings remained at Murshedabad till the latter part of 1761, when he became a member of the Supreme Council. He got this promotion owing to Messrs. Sumner, Macguire and Playdell having been dismissed by the Court of Directors for having, in conjunction with Clive and Holwell, written an insubordinate letter on 29th December 1759. The result of the Court of



Directors' tardy severity was very unfortunate, as Messrs. Carter, Hay, and Johnstone, who were bitterly opposed to Vansittart and his policy of appointing Mir Kassim got into council thereby and the opposition obtained a majority.

Vansittart was a Madras man, and therefore was regarded by the Bengal civilians as an interloper. This would have mattered little had he possessed force of character, but unfortunately he was weak, and also not absolutely clean-handed. Hence he was quite unable to curb the fierce buccaneers in the Council and the service, and as Sir John Malcolm says: "there is no part in our Indian History so revolting as the four years of the weak and inefficient rule of Mr. Vansittart." On 5th March 1762, Hastings was appointed by the Council to confer with Mir Kassim about the inland duties. He was chosen, the letter says, on account of the Governor (Vansittart) being aware that the Nabob had great confidence in him. Hastings went up country and had a conference with the Nabob on 13th May, at Sasseram. An admirable letter of his, dated 25th April 1762, giving an account of the oppressions of the English traders, is given in Vansittart and Gleig.

Vansittart went up country afterwards, and the result was the famous treaty of Monghyr, which was disallowed by the majority of the council and which led to the war. It is pleasant to note that there were two men among the English who seem to have been beloved even amid the contention of parties. These were Vansittart and Amyelt, both of whom are affectionately written about. Vansittart tells us that Amyelt was a good man misled by Fullarton, and Verelst says that he was universally beloved. On the other hand Bolts speaks with great regard of Vansittart.

In October 1762 Hastings had the disagreeable task of sitting on a commission to try Colonel Caillaud for instigating the assassination of the Shahzada. Hastings did not like the job and tried to get off (letter to Vansittart 23rd May 1762). Caillaud was acquitted, but certainly he did not come well out of the affair. (See the story in Burke who speaks of it as the story of the three seals, and also in Appendix No. 10, to 1st Report for 1773.) In a consultation of 15th February, 1763, Hastings is spoken of as the chief of Burdwan, but perhaps this was only a paper-appointment. In June of that year he had an altercation with Mr. Batson, and the latter had the brutality to strike him in the Council-chamber. (See the story in Mr. Long's Selections, No. 658, page 320.) On 7th July 1763 war was declared against Mir Kassim, and Mir Jaffir was restored. Hastings' minute of the 8th idem is worth quoting on account of its public spirit and ability. "It is long since I foreboded that our disputes with the Nabob would terminate in an open rupture, but as, from the ill-opinion which I had of his strength I



expected that our contention with him would be of a very short duration, nor otherwise affect the interests of the Company than in the after ill-consequences of a broken and disordered state; and as I had not the same tie upon me with the President in respect to any military charge, it was my resolution, as soon as war should be declared, to resign the Company's service; being unwilling on the one hand to join in giving authority to past measures of which I disapproved and of a new system which I judged detrimental to the honour and interests of the Company; and apprehensive on the other, that my continuance in the Board might serve only to prejudice rather than advance the good of the service in keeping alive, by my presence, the disputes which have so long disturbed our counsels, and retarding the public business by continual disputes and protests. But since our late melancholy advices give us reason to apprehend a dangerous and troublesome war, and from the unparalleled excess of barbarity and treachery with which it has opened on the part of the Nabob, it becomes the duty of every British subject to unite in the support of the common cause. It is my intention to join my endeavours for the good of the service, not only so long as the war may last, but so long as the troubles consequent from it may endanger either the Company's purse (?) or the safety of this colony. On the same principle, and to remove every appearance of dissension amongst ourselves, I will freely set my hand to the declaration . . . . . by the Board . . . . . though I still abide by the sentiments which I have all along expressed, of the measures taken in the course of all our disputes with the Nabob, hereby confirming all that I have declared in my former protests and minutes which stand upon record in our consultations."

The expression of these sentiments is of course quite consistent with Mr. Gleig's statement that Hastings always spoke of the deposition of Mir Kassim as in the highest degree disgraceful to the English character in India.

I may here note that the Hastings MS. vol. 29, p. 209, contains a most curious and interesting account of the sufferings of some Englishmen who were taken prisoners by Mir Kassim at Monghyr (?) and eventually conveyed to Patna. It certainly should be printed if this has not been done already. It appears to have been written by a medical man, from an allusion in it to instruments. The writer, however, was not Dr Fullarton, as it mentions they had a letter from him desiring them to come over to Patna. It begins thus:—June 23rd. "Being the anniversary of the battle of Plassey we all dined at the Factory. It describes the wounding and subsequent death of Captain Carstairs, &c."

It is remarked by Lord Macaulay that little is known of



Hastings' conduct at the time when the abuses of private trading were at their height and that the little that is known and the circumstance that little is known must be considered as honourable to him. This criticism is probably just and I think we might even go further and say that parts of Hastings' public conduct, such as the position taken up by him with regard to the jurisdiction of the country courts, are highly creditable to him. It must not be supposed, however, that Hastings abstained from private trading. Probably that was almost the only means of subsistence which civil servants then possessed. Hastings was an unfortunate trader, and his friend Sykes wrote of him that he had played his cards very badly and left his accounts in great confusion. Possibly he had neglected his private affairs for the sake of his public duties, but his transactions as a trader were on rather an extensive scale. One of the chief points urged by the opponents of the Monghyr Treaty was that Vansittart and Hastings had made a private arrangement with Mir Kassim whereby their boats were to pass free, and there seems to have been some ground for the charge. Batson, according to Bolts, gave evidence about this before the House of Commons, and Johnstone in a minute of 21st July 1764 wrote as follows: "While Messrs. Vansittart and Hastings carried on their trade, none in the settlement had so many European agents and other people up the country as they had. Some of these if we credit the allegations against (illegible in notes) and Mr. Moore at Rangpur carried it with as high a hand as any others that have been charged with an abuse of the power and name of the English. While these gentlemen were carrying on their trade in its greatest extent and had not declared their intention of going home, I do not recollect that their zeal for the English name which in their former particular transactions and trades had been so little considered gave occasion to any proposals for recalling all English agents; that they should do so when their affairs are collecting and themselves not likely much longer to be interested in the consequences is not strange."

Hastings had also a timber trade in Bakarganj and had two agents there, Captain Rose or Ross and Mr. Kelly. The former of them was afterwards killed by *dacoits* near Sataluri. Among the Hastings MS. there is a book of letters addressed to these agents. They are not in Hastings' handwriting but they seem to breathe his spirit and the tone of their instructions is liberal and gentlemanly. No. 655 of Mr. Long's selections p. 319 gives an interesting notice of Hastings' trade at Bakarganj. At an earlier date, *viz.*, 1762, Hastings had a contract with Government for the supply of bullocks (see the correspondence in Gleig). Burke referred to this contract in his speech and said "a man



may be an honest bullock contractor, God forbid! that many of them in this country should not be very honest, but I find his (Hastings') terms were nearly four times as high as those which the House of Commons considered as exorbitant."

In a letter of the Court of Directors of 16th March 1768, para. 36, they say they had heard that Lord Clive had proofs of seven lacs of rupees being taken for the Monghyr Treaty.

On the other hand, the anonymous translator of the *Seir Mutakhereen*, (a renegade Frenchman) says in a note, "Vansittart, who had brought a lac of property into Bengal and left it with no more than nine (a sum which his very salary and commission could have easily made up) was very far from being worth one-tenth of the property of his Diwan (Ram Chand). Although both the Governor and Hastings were so much cried down at the time for having sold Bengal to Mir Kassim for twenty-two lacs, an assertion proved to be an atrocious calumny when Vansittart after a five years' administration set out for England with less than ten lacs, and Hastings, his associate, proved to be so poor that having in vain applied to his Diwan (Kantu) for a supply of Rs. 12,000 for present subsistence in England, he was at last obliged to receive assistance from Aga Bedross (Coja Petruse), but without being able to pay it sooner than ten years after when Hastings was second at Madras."

Gleig says that Hastings went home with Vansittart, but it appears from an entry in the council-books that Vansittart went home in December 1764. Hastings went home in the *Medway*, I believe, some time in February 1765, and was accompanied by his friends the Hancocks.

I have now completed the notice of the first part of Hastings' Indian career, and hope in a subsequent number of the *Review* to deal with the second and much more interesting and important part.

H. BEVERIDGE.



## ART. II.—PUPPET-SHOWS AND PUNCH.

**I**T was a plausible suggestion of Voltaire, that Gregory of Nazianzen composed sacred dramas with the hope of weaning the Christians of Constantinople from their passion for pagan plays. The earliest scriptural pieces performed in England were written in Latin, which quickly gave way to Norman French, succeeded in its turn by English at the commencement of the twelfth century. The first miracle-play of which anything is known, professed to commemorate the Life of St. Catherine, and was composed by Geoffrey, Abbot of St. Albans, through whose influence it was acted at Dunstable about the year 1110. To Ralph Higden, however, who flourished in the reign of Edward III., must be assigned the honour of popularising miracle-plays written in "the birth-tongue." They were then, and long afterwards, performed in churches and churchyards, and sometimes lasted a whole week, no fewer than a hundred actors being frequently engaged for one piece. The entire life of a Saint, from his birth to his martyrdom, would be thus repeated, the spectators passing to and fro as fate or free-will might affect them. By degrees the regular clergy retired from the stage in favour of parish clerks, tradesmen, and mechanics, and they in the end were supplanted by puppets. The elder Disraeli states, in his essay on "Primitive Dramas," that in 1417 an English Mystery on the Nativity, as miracle-plays came to be called, was performed in presence of the Emperor Sigismund at the period of the Council of Constance, and was the first ever witnessed in Germany. Bishop Bonner, in the time of Henry VIII, forbade the performance of any kind of play within the walls of a church, and seeing that Beelzebub commonly appeared as the chief comic actor it may be inferred that the interdict was not uncalled for in the interests of religion and morality; and in England, "Moralities" had already begun to supersede the old fashioned monkish "Mystery." At Turin, however, the mystery of the "Damned Soul" was represented by a company of strolling players so late as 1739, and during Carnival similar pieces have delighted the populace of Vienna and other large towns in Roman Catholic countries, until quite recently. Indeed, even in Cornwall, the very silly performances known as Guary-Miracles illustrate the difficulty of effacing the traces of ancient customs and usages. The present writer, too, remembers how in his childhood the village boys near Laycock, in Wiltshire, went round from house to house, reciting with wonderful volubility doggrel verses in praise of St. George of Merry England, who was distinguished by a cocked hat and much coloured paper. A terrific combat with wooden swords was part



of the entertainment, but instead of a dragon the vanquished enemy of mankind had come to be Old Boney.

In the reign of Queen Mary miracle-plays were revived for a short time, but popular taste no longer set in that direction, having unmistakably turned towards the Moralities which first came into vogue in the time of Henry VII, under the more ordinary name of Interludes. Their primary object seems to have been to relieve the monotony of long wearisome banquets, and under Henry VIII they were brought to a considerable degree of excellence by John Heywood, that monarch's jester. In the *Chronique* of Jacques de Lalain, a detailed account is given of an "entremets" of this description devised by that redoubtable knight for the entertainment of his guests, on the achievement of his famous "point of chivalry" at the Fontaine-des-Pleurs, near Châlons-sur-Saône. The Virgin Mary, the Lady of the Fountain, and an emblematic figure of the town, appeared in the banquet hall, and recited verses which were deemed at the time appropriate and elegantly turned. The genuine Moralities, however, were of the nature of acted allegories, or personifications in action of the cardinal virtues and vices, the Beelzebub of the Mystery Plays finding his counterpart in the "Old Iniquity" or "Old Vice," as described in the Clown's song in "Twelfth Night," Act IV, Scene II:—

I am gone, Sir,  
And anon, Sir,  
I'll be with you again,  
In a trice,  
Like to the Old Vice,  
Your need to sustain;  
Who, with dagger of lath,  
In his rage and his wrath,  
Cries 'Ah ha!' to the devil.

Frequent allusions to this popular personage occur in the old writers. Philip Stubbs in his "*Anatomie of Abuses*," (1595) remarks, "you must go to the playhouse if you will learne to play the Vice, to sweare, teare, and blaspheme both Heaven and Hell;" again, he asks "who can call him a wise man who playeth the part of foole or a vice." In the "*Staple of Newes*" (1625), we read that, "Iniquity came in like Hokos-pokos in a juggler's jerkin, with false skirts like the knave of clubs;" and further on, "Here is never a fiend to carry him (the Vice) away; besides, he has never a wooden dagger: I'd not give a rush for a Vice that has not a wooden dagger to snap at every one he meetes." In the "*Devil is an Ass*," Ben Jonson inverts the ordinary finale by making Iniquity, as represented by Pug, run away with his master out of Newgate, exclaiming as he staggers off the stage,

The Devil was wont to carry away the Evil,  
But now the Evil outcarries the Devil.



Dr. Johnson speaks of "the devil very lustily belaboured by Punch" as an old English tradition, and it will be shown hereafter that Punch is the legitimate successor of the Old Iniquity, though the wooden sword has become the appanage of Harlequin. Strutt, too, makes mention of an "old stage direction for the Vice to lay about him lustily with a great pole, and tumble the characters one over the other with great noise and riot 'for dysport sake.'" In the beginning, the Moralities were performed by actors, but after a time they became the peculiar province of puppets, or "motion-men," as they were then called, already famous for their presentment of the History of King Bladud, the merry jests of Robin Hood, Maid Marion, and Little John, and many other subjects taken from the old Ballads. These, together with Hobby-horses, Moorish dancers, Giants, and Ogres, were doomed to make way for the personifications of Perverse Doctrine, Gluttony, Vanity, Lechery, Mundus, and Old Iniquity. In "King Lear," Act II, Scene II, Kent cries to Oswald, "Draw, you rascal: you come with letters against the King, and take Vanity, the puppet's part against the royalty of her father." In "The Devil is an Ass," Satan summons Old Iniquity, at the request of Pug, and remarks, that in those days, (1560),

Every great man had his Vice stand by him  
In his long coat, shaking his wooden dagger.

It is in this sense that Juliet, Act III, Scene V, denounces her nurse as an "Ancient damnation. O most wicked fiend!" So too, Malvolio, (Twelfth Night, Act II, Scene VI) protests that he "will be point-devise, the very man," and Hamlet, Act III, Scene IV, styles his uncle, "a Vice of kings."

Mummers and pageants, the latter being usually made of wicker-work and inspired with motion and gesticulation by hidden strings, were common in England as early as the thirteenth century, while the former administered to the coarse and depraved tastes of the age. In the reign of Edward III, we read of mummers being whipped out of London by reason of the indecency of their performances in the court-yards of taverns. On state occasions, however, both mummers and pageants served to amuse, not only the rabble, but the court likewise, down to the end of Elizabeth's reign. Movable figures were also the delight of children in the days of chivalry; and in Strutt's "Sports and Pastimes" may be seen designs of knights on horseback tilting at one another, sometimes placed on little platforms with wheels, sometimes pulled by strings, and at other times merely pushed by the hand. The knights were movable so far, that when struck by the adversary's lance in full "attaint" they were borne back upon the crupper.

When substantial theatres began to be built for dramatic per-



performances, the strollers' booths were given over to the rabble, and the "tragitour" degenerated into a common juggler, assisted by a "bourdour" or jester. At this stage the transition from actors to wooden images was easy and natural, for the latter cost nothing beyond their original construction and an inexpensive wardrobe. A play thus enacted was called a "droll," or "drollery," and the performances were known as popets, popelets, puppets, mammets, and motions—the last name being also applied to the piece itself. In "The Tempest," when Ariel and the other sprites produce the banquet, King Alonzo asks in surprise: "What beings be these?" and Sebastian replies: "A living drollery." Chaucer, in "The Miller's Tale" has:—

Ther' is no man so wise that coude thenche  
So gay a popelot or swiche a wenche,

and in his Prologue to *Sir Thopas*:

This were a popet in an arme to embrace  
For any woman, smal and faire of face.

Allusions in Shakespeare to both puppet and motion may be met with in many plays. In the "*Two Gentlemen of Verona*," Act II, Scene I: Speed exclaims while watching Silvia: "O excellent motion! O exceeding puppet! Now will he interpret to her." The individual who explained the pantomimic action of the puppets, it may be parenthetically remarked, was called the interpreter. Grumio in "*Taming of the Shrew*," Act I, Scene II, says, "Give him gold enough and marry him to a puppet or an aglet baby"—that is, to one of the small graven figures, sometimes death's heads, that were attached to the ends or tagged points of *aiguillettes*. And in the same play, Act IV, Scene III, we come upon the word in three consecutive lines:

*Kath.* "Belike, you mean to make a puppet of me.

*Petruc.* "Why, true; he means to make a puppet of thee.

*Tailor.* "She says, your worship means to make a puppet of her."

Helena and Hermia, in "*A Midsummer Night's Dream*," Act III, Scene II, while suffering from Puck's mistake, have a sharp encounter, in which the former cries, "Fie, fie! you counterfeit, you puppet, you;" and the latter replies: "Puppet, why so? Ay, that way goes the game." Hamlet, too, says to Ophelia, Act III, Scene II, "I could interpret between you and your love, if I could see the puppets dallying." In "*The Pilgrim*" of Beaumont and Fletcher, Alphonso, Alinda's father, thus apostrophises the silent Pedro, disguised as a beggar: "What country craven are you? Nothing but motion? A puppet pilgrim?" Ben Jonson, again, in "*The Silent Woman*" makes Epicene exclaim, "Why, did you think you had



married a statue or a motion only? One of the French puppets, with the eyes turned with a vice?" And Subtle in "The Alchemist, says: "And on your stall a puppet, with a vice," showing that winking dolls had already been introduced into England, and by way of France. That the word "motion" was applied to the piece as well as to the puppet appears from many instances. Autolycus in the "Winter's Tale," Act IV, Scene III, describing his own antecedents, says: "Then he compassed a motion of the Prodigal Son." So, in "Every man out of his Humour," Act II, Scene I, Sogliardo refers to what was perhaps rather a moving picture than an actual puppet show: "They say there's a new motion of the City of Nineveh, with Jonas and the whale, to be seen at Fleet Bridge." Lanthorn Leatherhead in "Bartholomew Fair," Act V, Scene I, is more explicit:

"O, the motions that I, Lanthorn Leatherhead, have given light to, in my time, since my master Pod died! Jerusalem was a stately thing, and so was Nineveh and the City of Norwich, and Sodom and Gomorrah with the rising of the prentices, and pulling down of the \* \* \* upon Shrove Tuesday. But the Gunpowder Plot, there was a get-penny! I have presented that to an eighteen or twenty-pence audience nine times in an afternoon. Your home-born projects prove ever the best, they are so easy and familiar; they put too much learning in their things nowadays."

In "Gammer Gurton's Needle." (1517) one of the characters protests he will go and "travel with young Goose, the motion-man, for a puppet player," and many more illustrations might be adduced to prove the double acceptation of the word "motion." The name "Mammet" is of much less frequent occurrence and it may be questioned if, in either of the two instances in which it is used by Shakspeare, any reference is intended to puppets. Hotspur, for example, says to Lady Percy; Henry IV, Act. II, Scene IV:

"I care not for thee, Kate; this is no world  
To play with mamnets, and to tilt with lips."

In this passage it is evidently an adaptation of the Latin "mamma" and signifies breasts. Again, in "Romeo and Juliet," Capulet seems rather to mean "mammy-sick," or a "mamma's pet," than a movable image:

And then to have a wretched puling fool,  
A whining mammet, in her fortune's tender,  
To answer, "I'll not wed, I cannot love,  
I am too young; I pray you, pardon me."

The meaning here is certainly doubtful, though it is undeniable that Chronicle-plays are mentioned by several writers as being "acted by mamnets." Permanent theatres for puppet-shows were opened in Holborn, Smithfield, Paris Garden, at the Fleet



Bridge, at Brentford, and above all, at Eltham, which was honored by the patronage of dwellers at "the polite end of the town." If Jonson's "Tale of a Tub" may be taken as a fair portraiture of the times, there was nothing uncommon in a young gentleman of good social position giving an entertainment of this description for the recreation of his family and friends, and in "Cynthia's Revels;" Act IV, Scene I, Phantaste remarks: "As I were a shepherdess, I would be piped and sung to; as a dairy wench, I would dance at maypoles and make syllabubs; as a country gentlewoman, keep a good house, and come up to term (*i.e.*, to town during the law terms) to see motions." The Puritans naturally denounced puppets almost as vehemently as they did actors, and accordingly we find "Zeal of the Land Busy" brought forward in "Bartholomew Fair" as a type of narrow-minded intolerance. At that time one Pod, or Captain Pod, had achieved a certain distinction as a showman, and was succeeded by an individual named Cokely. Notwithstanding the aversion of the early Puritans, puppet-shows were suffered to remain unmolested during the suspension and final suppression of dramatic performances—possibly, because of the scriptural origin of so many of their set pieces. Particular mention is made of a troop of opera-puppets whose reputation carried them from Norwich to London, where they were much run after even by persons of quality. Under the Restoration puppet-shows still held their own, in spite of the revived rivalry of the regular drama. The following entries in Pepys' Diary attest the superiority of certain Italian fantoccini over the ordinary puppets of the period.

"November 12th, 1661. My wife and I to "Bartholomew Fayre" with puppets (which I had seen once before and the play without puppets often) but though I love the play as much as ever I did, yet I do not like the puppets at all, but think it to be a lessening to it."

"May 9th, 1662. Went to Covent Garden, to see an Italian puppet play, that is within the rayles there—the best that ever I saw, and great resort of gallants."

"May 23rd, 1662. My wife and I to the puppet play in Covent Garden, which I saw the other day, and indeed it is very pleasant. Here, among the fiddlers, I first saw a dulcimer played on with sticks knocking of the strings, and is very pretty."

"August 30th, 1667. Leaving my wife to come home with them, I to Bartholomew Fayre to walk up and down, and there among other things find my Lady Castlemaine at a puppet-play, "Patient Grizell," and the street full of people expecting her coming out."

The Italian troop exhibited at Whitehall before Charles II and



his Court on the 8th October, 1662, after which no more is heard of them; but at the commencement of the next century a showman named Powell became a formidable competitor to the Italian Opera in the Haymarket, and had the signal honour of being more than once noticed by Addison and Sir Richard Steele. The first mention of Powell is in the "Tatler," May 17th, 1709, in a letter supposed to be written from Bath, and descriptive of a puppet-show entitled: "The Creation of the World," in which Punch and his wife were introduced dancing in the Ark, for the amusement of Noah and his family during the flood. At the conclusion of the piece Mr. Punch addressed some pretty compliments to his patrons, and bowed "until his buttons touched the ground." From Bath Powell removed his puppets to London, and established them under the Piazza at the East end of Covent Garden, where they became so attractive that Steele ("Spectator," March 16th, 1710-11,) represents the Under Sexton of St. Paul's Church as complaining that his congregation, during the last fortnight, had taken the tolling of his bell, morning and evening, as a notice that the puppet-show exhibition was about to begin. Another pretended correspondent writes that he had been to see "the two leading diversions of the town"—"the Opera at the Haymarket and that under the little piazza in Covent Garden." "Mr. Powell professing in his advertisements to set up Whittington and his Cat" against "Rinaldo and Armida." After an impartial comparison of the two performances he was disposed to give the preference to the puppets, not merely on account of their using the vernacular tongue, but because at the Haymarket the sparrows and chaffinches had a bad habit of flying about very irregularly, getting into the pit and galleries and putting out the candles, "whereas Mr. Powell has so well disciplined his pig that in the first scene he and Punch dance a minuet together. I am informed, however"—the satirist continues—"that Mr. Powell resolves to excel his adversaries in their own way; and introduce larks in his next opera of 'Susanna, or Innocence Betrayed,' which will be exhibited next week with a pair of new Elders. The moral of Mr. Powell's drama is violated, I confess, by Punch's national reflections on the French, and King Harry's laying his leg upon the Queen's lap in too ludicrous a manner before so great an assembly." Addison likewise refers to "the ingenious Mr. Powell, junior," and also—whether seriously or jestingly, it is hard to say—to the sale of a rival troop of "Jointed Babies," whose proprietress, despairing of reclaiming "the rakehell Punch, whose lewd life and conversation had given so much scandal," had at last got him "a post upon a stall at Wapping, where he may be seen from sunrising to sunsetting, with a glass in one hand and a pipe in the other, as a sentry to a brandy shop." Among the advertisements of the



year 1713 may be seen one of "Venus and Adonis," or the Triumphs of Love, by Martin Powell; a mock opera, acted in Punch's Theatre in Covent Garden, 1713, in 8vo." Other favourite pieces for puppets were "Mother Goose" "Mother Shipton," and "The Children in the Wood."

According to some writers, Punch first came over to England from the Hague in the suite of the Dutch William, but there is reason to believe that he was already acclimatised in the reign of James II., and M. Magnin is of opinion that the merry rogue was introduced into France from Italy in the time of Henri Quatre. It is even suggested that he was originally accepted as a caricature of that "vert galant," and certainly of the Gascon type then so prevalent in the Royal Guards. With the exception of the hooked nose, the French Polichinelle differs widely from the Roman and Neapolitan Pulcinella, while the hunchback appears to have been the immemorial appanage of the *badin-ès-farces*, or French Merry-Andrew. We are reminded, indeed, that in the thirteenth century. Adam de la Halle was surnamed *Le Bossu*, not by reason of any physical deformity but because of his pungent and biting wit. The protuberances both in front and behind were less conspicuous in former times than in our own, and may have been intended, as M. Magnin seems to think, to caricature the appearance of a man-in-armour. Polichinelle, originally played by actors, figured among the French marionettes towards the close of the first half of the seventeenth century, and about 1669 was reinforced by "Dame Gigogne," the successor of "Perrine." The troop of players known as "Les Enfants Sans Souci"—who, under their conductor, Pierre Gringoire, were a source of so much amusement to Louis XII—had been reduced to great straits, when suddenly one of them appeared dressed up as a woman, the type of the prolific *roturières*, and hit off exactly the coarse taste of the period, which, judging by "Dame Gigogne's" present popularity, must have been in harmony with that of the modern French populace. "Arlequin" and "Pantalon" were in France contemporaneous with "Polichinelle," but in England they preceded Punch by a considerable interval. Harlequin, for instance, was known to our ancestors about 1589, and Pantaloon was familiar in Shakspeare's time, as may be inferred from his graphic description by the melancholy Jacques, ("As you Like It," Act II, Scene VII.)

The sixth age shifts

Into the lean and slipper'd pantaloon,

With spectacles on nose and pouch on side.

His youthful hose, well-saved, a world too wide

For his shrunk shank; and his big manly voice,

Turning again towards childish treble, pipes

And whistles in his sound.



Again, in the "Taming of the Shrew," (Act III, Scene I,) Lucentio, freely translating Virgil for Bianca's benefit, says, "*Priami* is my man Tranio, *regia* bearing my port, *celsa senis* that we might beguile the old pantaloon"—a somewhat irreverent allusion to Bianca's own father, Baptista. Harlequin was at that time attired in a "motley" garb of rags and patches, and was represented as an utter dolt, whence the epithet "patch" was commonly applied to a fool. He was gradually supplanted by the Clown, losing his garrulity and boisterousness, and finally emerging in his present glittering attire, armed with the wooden sword of Old Iniquity. The word is said to be derived from *arlot*, old French for a cheat, but we are also reminded that Ordericus Vitalis mentions the "Familia Herlechini" in the middle of the twelfth century, and that four hundred years later there was a "Familia Harlequini" well known in Italy, but, as will presently be shown, we must probably go back to the *Atellanæ Fabulæ*, for the original conception of Harlequin as well as of Mr. Punch.

In the reign of Queen Anne Punch flourished mightily. In the Harleian Collection, No. 5931, are two advertisements that give a tolerably clear idea of the sort of entertainment that gratified our forefathers, and was judged not unworthy of the notice of a Steele, an Addison, or a Swift.

"At Crawley's Booth, over against the Crown Tavern in Smithfield during the time of Bartholomew Fair, will be presented a little opera called 'The Old Creation of the World,' yet newly revived, with the addition of Noah's Flood; also several Fountains playing water during the time of the Play.

"The last scene does present Noah and his family coming out of the Ark with all the Beasts, two by two, and all the Fowls of the Air seen in a prospect sitting upon trees.

"Likewise, over the Ark is seen the Sun rising in a most glorious manner; moreover, a multitude of Angels will be seen in a double rank, which presents a double prospect, one for the Sun, the other for a palace, where will be seen six Angels ringing six bells. Likewise, machines descends (*sic*) from above, double and treble, with Devils rising out of Hell, and Lazarus seen in Abraham's bosom, besides several Figures dancing Jiggs, Sarabands, and Country Dances, to the admiration of all spectators; with the merry conceit of Squire Punch and Sir John Spendall.

"All this is completed with an entertainment of singing and dancing with several naked swords, performed by a child of eight years of age, to the general satisfaction of all persons.

VIVAT REGINA."

The second advertisement was put forth by Nathaniel Heatley, who claimed to enjoy "Her Majesties Permission," for his exhibition "over against the Cross Daggers next to Mr. Miller's Booth."



In addition to The Old Creation of the World, Squire Punch and Sir John Spendall, to say nothing of music and dancing, the spectators were here gratified by "the glorious Battle obtained over the French and Spaniards by his Grace the Duke of Marlborough." The first part comprised: "The Creation of Adam and Eve; the Intrigues of Lucifer in the Garden of Eden; Adam and Eve driven out of Paradise; Cain going to plow; Abel driving sheep; Cain kill-eth his brother Abel; Abraham offering his son Isaac; the Wise men of the East guided by a Star, who worship him; Joseph and Mary flee away by night upon an Ass. &c." Here we have a Mystery-play, pure and simple, acted by puppets, but at the Gun Music Booth, also at Bartholomew's Fair, we encounter the Italian innovations in the shape of "A New Entertainment between a Scaramouch, a Harliquin, and a Punchanello, in imitation of Bilk-ing a Reckoning," and also "A new dance by four Scaramouches after the Italian manner, &c."

Although Latin is nowadays more or less understood by all sorts and conditions of men, there may still be a few who will prefer to read in English the following extracts from Addison's "*Machinæ Gesticulantes*."

Here, cooped in narrow scene and lowly dome,  
Plots, wars, and pomps, and all man's busy day,  
On their brief boards the little people play.  
But chief, a blustering Manny o'er the rest  
Struts, with a broader buckle on his vest,  
And rolls his eyeballs big with living light,  
Immoderate swells his paunch, and to huge height  
Rises his back. The lesser tribe askance  
Ponder his frightful step and giant glance.  
He, trusting to his size and unmatched force  
Rails on the feeble herd without remorse;  
And scattering safe his tyrant wit around,  
In squalls of joy the wicked droll is drowned.

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But now the lineage of this harmless band,  
Their latent life, and by what genius planned,  
Let me reveal. The workman shapes his wood  
Till to the human mould he has subdued  
His oakborn progeny; with strappings meet  
Arms to the shoulders binds, to the legs feet;  
Knits limb with limb, and joint in joint inserts;  
Then fits nice blocks, through which his hand exerts  
The easy weights. Thus, dexterous, he employs  
The secret motion, and affords the voice.  
And now complete, each curious puppet shows  
His lines of deep-trenched thought, and chiselled brows.  
They leap, they sing, act all their volant airs  
And utter shrilling speech, and words not theirs.

The last idea is repeated in Swift's sparkling effusion entitled "*The Puppet-show*," from which a few lines may be taken for the



benefit of those to whom the Dean of Dromore is only known as the author of "Gulliver's Travels :"—

The gods of old were logs of wood,  
And worship was the puppets paid ;  
In antic dress the idol stood,  
And priest and people bow'd the head.  
Thus Dædalus and Ovid, too,  
That man's a blockhead have confest :  
Powel and Stretch the hint pursue ;  
Life is a farce, the world's a jest.  
What Momus was of old to Jove,  
The same a Harlequin is now ;  
The former was buffoon above,  
The latter is a Punch below.

\* \* \* \* \*  
In short, whatever men pursue,  
Of pleasure, folly, war, or love  
This mimic race brings all to view :  
Alike they dress, they talk, they move.

\* \* \* \* \*  
A stock may chance to wear a crown,  
And timber as a lord take place ;  
A statue may put on a frown,  
And cheat us with a thanking face.  
Others are blindly led away,  
And made to act for ends unknown ;  
By the mere spring of wires they play,  
And speak in language not their own.

Roderick Random, Ch. XLIX, in narrating his love affair with Melinda, remarks : " I soon became acquainted with a good many people of fashion, and spent my time in the modish diversions of the town, such as plays, operas, masquerades, drums, assemblies, and puppet-shows." Tom Jones, too, while resting at an inn, becomes a spectator of a puppet-show called " The fine and serious part of the Provoked Husband ;" (the play in which Colley Cibber's unfortunate daughter, Charlotte, made her debut) " and it was, indeed, a very grave and solemn entertainment, without any low wit, or humour, or jests ; or, to do it more than justice, without anything that could provoke a laugh. The audience were all highly pleased." Encouraged by the applause of his rustic patrons, the master ventured to observe : " The present age was not improved in anything so much as their puppet-shows ; which by throwing out Punch and his wife Joan" (Judy being a subsequent innovation) " and such idle trumpery, were at last brought to a rational entertainment." To which Tom Jones replied : " I should have been glad to have seen my old acquaintance, Master Punch, for all that ; and so far from improving, I think, by leaving out him and his merry wife Joan, you have spoiled your puppet-show." " The dancer of the wires," we are told, " conceived an immediate and high contempt for Jones for



these words," and the company for the most part sided with him, until the discovery of the scandal caused by the maid of the inn with the Merry-Andrew of the show. The Landlady thereupon rates her husband for suffering such ne'er-do-weels to bring discredit upon his house, and recalls to mind the time when "puppet shows were made of good scripture stories, as Jephthah's Rash Vow, and such good things, and when wicked people were carried away by the devil. There was," she continues, "some sense in those matters; but, as the parson told us last Sunday, nobody believes in the devil now-a-days; and here you bring about a parcel of puppets dress'd up like lords and ladies to turn the heads of poor country wenches."

A puppet-show, called "The Pleasures of the Town," was an integral portion of Fielding's dull piece, "The Author's Farce," originally produced at the Haymarket, and printed in 1750. In the Prologue, this novelty is thus excused, if not justified:

Beneath the tragick or the comick name  
Farces and puppet-shows ne'er miss of Fame:  
Since then, in borrow'd dress, they've pleased the Town—  
Condemn them not, appearing in their own.

Act II, Scene VII, enters Jack Pudding and announces:  
"This is to give notice to all gentlemen, ladies, and others, That  
"at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane this evening will be  
"performed the whole Puppet-show called The Pleasures of the  
"Town; in which will be shewn the whole Court of Nonsense,  
"with abundance of singing, dancing, and several other entertain-  
"ments. Also the comical and diverting humours of Somebody  
"and Nobody; Punch and his wife Joan to be performed by  
"figures: some of them six foot high. God save the King!"

In "A Dialogue between mad Mullinix and Timothy," Swift immortalises the Punch of the period. (1728).

Observe the audience is in pain  
While Punch is hid behind the scene;  
But when they hear his rusty voice,  
With what impatience they rejoice!  
And then they value not two straws  
How Solomon decides the cause;  
Which the true mother—which pretender,  
Nor listen to the Witch of Endor.  
Should Faustus, with the Devil behind him,  
Enter the stage, they never mind him;  
If Punch, to stir their fancy, shews  
In at the door his monstrous nose,  
Then sudden draws it back again,  
Oh, what a pleasure mix'd with pain!  
You every moment think an age  
Till he appears upon the stage,  
And first (himself) you see him clap  
Upon the Queen of Sheba's lap.



The Duke of Lorraine drew his sword,  
 Punch roaring ran, and running roar'd,  
 Reviles all people in his jargon,  
 And sells the King of Spain a bargain ;  
 St. George himself he plays the wag on  
 And mounts astride upon the dragon ;  
 He gets a thousand thumps and kicks,  
 Yet cannot leave his roguish tricks ;  
 In every action thrusts his nose—  
 The reason why no mortal knows.  
 There's not a puppet made of wood  
 But what would hang him if they could.  
 While teasing all, by all he's teas'd,  
 How well are the spectators pleas'd ;  
 Who in the motion have no share,  
 But purely come to hear and stare :  
 Have no concern for Sabra's sake,  
 Which gets the better, saint or snake,  
 Provided Punch, for there's the jest,  
 Be soundly maul'd and plague the rest.

It appears from the song of "Punchinello," published in vol., VI of the *Musical Miscellany*, that in 1731 Punch's outward and visible form was the same as at present :—

My cap is like a sugar loaf  
 And round my collar I wear a ruff :  
 My rising back and distorted breast  
 Whene'er I show 'em, become a jest.

Hogarth also has fixed the rogue's outlines for ever, not only in "Southwark Fair," but still more strikingly in his picture of "The Election," where Punch figures as "Candidate for Guzzleborough." It would have been strange if puppets had passed unnoticed by Goldsmith. In "She Stoops to Conquer," Act. III, Scene I., Mrs. Hardcastle, by way of depreciating Constance Neville's jewels, tells the young lady : "They would make you look like the court of king Solomon at a puppet show" being "a parcel of old-fashioned rose and table-cut things." Of Goldsmith himself an amusing and characteristic anecdote is told by Boswell as belonging to the *Memorabilia* of 1763 :—

"Once at the exhibition of the Fantoccini in London, when those who sat next him observed with what dexterity a puppet was made to toss a pike, he could not bear that it should have such praise, and exclaimed with some warmth : 'Pshaw, I can do it better myself.'"

In a foot note Boswell adds : "He went home with Mr Burke to supper, and broke his shin by attempting to exhibit to the company how much better he could jump over a stick than the puppets."

It has been more than once asserted that Dr. Johnson expressed his belief that Macbeth would be better acted by puppets



than by living performers, but for this assertion the present writer has failed to find any better foundation than a casual remark by the great critic, to the effect that Macbeth was not well adapted to the stage, and it may be easily imagined that with the imperfect machinery of those days neither the Witches nor the Ghost would appear to advantage. Indeed, it may be questioned even now if those supernatural appearances do not mar the effect of that marvellous drama, and if it be not rather suited to the closet than to the boards. The fascination exercised by Mr. Punch is duly acknowledged by Gay in "The Shepherd's Week," wherein it is said of Bowzybeus that:—

Of Raree-shows he sung, and Punch's feats,  
Of pockets pick'd in crowds, and various cheats.

That unluckiest of clever women, Mrs. Charlotte Charke, relates in her Memoirs how she gave up her shop "to keep a grand Puppet-Show over the Tennis Court in James Street, which is licenced, and is the only one in this kingdom that has had the good fortune to obtain so advantageous a grant." \* "For some time" she continues, "I resided at the Tennis Court with my Puppet-Show, which was allowed to be the most elegant that was ever exhibited. I was so very curious that I bought mezzotintos of several eminent persons, and had the faces carved from them. Then, in regard to my cloaths I spared for no cost to make them splendidly magnificent, and the scenes were agreeable to the rest. This affair stood me in some hundreds, and would have paid all costs and charges, if I had not, through excessive fatigue in accomplishing it, acquired a violent fever which had like to have carried me off, and consequently gave a damp to the run I should otherwise have had, as I was one of the principal exhibitors for those gentry." \* When I quitted the Tennis Court I took a house in Marsham-street, Westminster, and lived very privately for a little while, till I began to consider that my wooden troop might as well be put in action, and determined to march to Tunbridge Wells at the head of them. When I arrived, there was a General who had taken the field before me; one Lacon, a famous person, who had for many successive years, and indeed very successfully, entertained the Company with those inanimate heroes and heroines." \* "I resolved to make the best use I could of my figures without fatiguing myself any further, and let my Comedians out for hire to a man who was principally concerned in the formation of them. But business not answering his ends and my expectations, I sold for twenty guineas what cost me near five hundred pounds."

Not inexcusably does the ill-fated lady exclaim; "'Tis certain there never was known a more unfortunate devil than I have been." It is evident that puppet-shows must have greatly degene-



rated between Mrs. Charke's time and Strutt's, for that learned antiquarian describes them ("Sports and Pastimes." B. III., C. II., p. 19,) as consisting of "a wretched display of wooden figures, "barbarously formed, and decorated without the least degree of taste "or propriety; the wires that communicated the motion to them "appeared at the tops of their heads, and the manner in which "they were made to move evinced the ignorance and inattention "of the managers; the dialogues were mere jumbles of absurdity "and nonsense, intermixed with low immoral discourses passing "between Punch and the fiddler, for the orchestra rarely admitted "of more than one minstrel, and these flashes of merriment were "made offensive to decency by the actions of the puppet."

Truly a lamentable falling off since the days when Addison, Steele, Swift, and Fielding glorified the *exiguam gentem et vacuum sine mente populum*, and when it was thought not beneath the *Tatler* to notice the "thread on one of Punch's chops which draws it up and lets it fall at the discretion of the said Powell, who stands behind and plays him and makes him speak saucily of his betters." About the year 1779, however, mention is made of a Patagonian Theatre in Exeter Change, where "The Apotheosis of Punch" was produced,—described as "a satirical masque with a monody on the death of the late master Punch," being, in fact, a bad burlesque on Sheridan's Monody on Garrick. Again, about 1797 we alight upon one Henry Rowe who acted Shakespeare's plays by puppets at York, and invited the public to enter by blowing the same trumpet with which he had sounded the charge and the recall at Culloden. From the commencement of the present century dates the revival of the popularity of Punch and Judy, while puppets have been carried to an extraordinary degree of ingenuity, elegance, and variety by Mr. John Holder, whose mannikins last year astonished and delighted an assembly of juvenile spectators at the Mansion House.

According to the anonymous author of "Punch and Judy," the managers of the popular entertainment known by that name not unfrequently impart an unexpected zest to the well-known performance by local or contemporary allusions. Shortly after the Battle of the Nile, Lord Nelson appeared among the usual *dramatis personæ* and urged the rogue to go to sea with him and fight the French: "Come, Punch, my boy, I'll make you a Captain, or a Commodore, if you like it." "But I dont like it" squeaks the coward, "I shall be drowned." "Never fear that," cries the hero, "he that is born to be hanged, you know, is sure not to be drowned"—an answer hugely appreciated by the gaping audience. Again, during one of the hotly contested Westminster elections of many years ago, Sir Francis Burdett was brought forward in the act of canvassing Mr. Punch for his vote, securing that en-



lightened elector's good-will by kissing his wife and baby. At a country fair a donkey-race by puppets was won by Punch, but, of course, in the hurly-burly that ensued he was cheated of his prize. At another time a characteristic dialogue in favor of a plurality of wives was given between Punch and Blue Beard. Paul Pry, too, has been thrashed for "intruding," and Morgiana, from "The Forty Thieves," and Grimaldi from "Mother Goose," have danced together in Punch's Theatre.

Mr. Collier Payne, no mean authority in dramatic matters, is disposed to regard Punch as the popular representative of Don Juan; and a ballad composed about 1791 to 1793, helps to a certain extent to corroborate this view. The Spanish rake was first introduced to an English audience as "The Libertine Destroyed," in 1676, by Shadwell, probably some years anterior to the first English adaptation of Pulcinella. The version of "Don Juan," however, on which the ballad in question is founded came out at the Royalty Theatre in 1787, and at Drury Lane in 1790. Punch is put forward as the father of a child of "matchless beauty :"

Its mother's name was Judy,  
But not so handsome as Mister Punch,  
Who had a monstrous nose, Sir :  
And on his back, there grew a hunch  
That to his head arose, Sir ;  
But then, they say, that he could speak  
As winning as a Mermaid,  
And by his voice—a treble squeak—  
He Judy won, that fair maid.

Quickly wearying of domesticity, Punch proves unfaithful and has his nose pulled by Judy, whereupon he flies into a furious passion, breaks her head with a bludgeon, and flings "his little heir out of a two-pair window." His wife's relations becoming troublesome are treated to much stick, and Punch goes abroad for change of scene. His travels are marked by intrigue and murder, culminating in a compact with the Evil One. On his return to England he is arrested by the police at Dover and sentenced to be hanged.

Pretending he knew not the use  
Of rope he saw from tree, Sir,  
The hangman's head into the noose  
He got, while he got free, Sir.

The devil now appears on the scene armed with a pitchfork.

While Punch had but a stick, Sir,  
But kill'd the devil as he ought.  
Huzza ! 'There's no Old Nick, Sir.

Right toll de roll, &c.

In Italian, we are told, to "kill the devil" and "drive the devil



into hell"—*cacciar il diavolo nell inferno*—are synonymous phrases, the matter-of-fact English, however, assuming that killing must necessarily mean depriving of life. But granting that this particular presentation of Punch is at least largely borrowed from Don Juan's adventures, there can be little doubt that the original conception of the hooked-nose libertine dates as far back as the *Atellanæ Fabulæ*. These appear to have been introduced into Rome about A. U. C., 540, the principal characters being Maccus, the clown, Bucco, the babbler, and Pappus or Casnar, a ridiculous dotard. Judging from stucco paintings at Pompeii and from a small bronze statue dug up in Rome some fifty years ago, Maccus was got up with a nose shaped like a chicken's beak, long legs, a slight hunch between the shoulders, and the paunch protuberant. The old Oscan dialect, which must have been still intelligible in the Eternal City, was the medium adopted for the utterance of the scurrilous jests and libels of Maccus and his fellows, just as in after times the satirical humour of Pulcinella was veiled in the Roman or Neapolitan patois. During the middle ages nothing is heard of these "low comedians," but early in the seventeenth century Pulcinella made his debut under the auspices of Silvio Fiorello, himself a comic actor, in the character of a peasant of Acerra, an ancient town of the Terra di Lavoro, near Naples. Fiorello's original idea was considerably developed and improved by Andrea Calcese, surnamed Ciuccio, a tailor, who died of the plague in 1636. At that time strolling players acted for the most part pieces *à soggetto*, the plots alone being written out while the dialogue was largely left to the actors themselves. With their natural and national talent for improvisation, the Italian strollers had little difficulty in stringing together smart allusions to contemporary incidents and local events and personages, and whether to render their satire less personal or with a view to their own impunity, they generally wore masks, as had been customary in classic Greece and Rome. Each character spoke in the peculiar dialect of the district he was supposed to represent. Thus, Milanese was the vernacular of Beltrame and Scapino; Venetian of Pantalone and his valet Zacometo; Neapolitan of Pulcinella, Scaramouch, Tartaglia, Bisiegliese, and the Capitano Spavento—the last named interpolating many Spanish words and phrases; Roman of Meo-Pattacca, Marko-Pepe, and Cassandrino—all three caricatures of cardinals; Bolognese of Il Dottore and Narcisino; Tuscan of Stenterello; Calabrian of Curello and Giangurgolo; Sicilian of Il Barone and Peppe-Nappa; and Bergamese of Arlecchino and Brighella: the former a stupid greedy rustic with, originally, a blackened face and parti-coloured costume, while the latter was a cunning malicious varlet. Of all these there now remain only



Arlecchino, Brighella, Il Dottore, and Pantalone, in addition to the indispensable Pulcinella, whose name is derived from a Neapolitan diminutive, signifying a chicken—with reference to his nose. It may also have something to do with his moral character, for Pulcinella is an arrant coward, who is thrashed by all the other actors, though he boasts of his own exploits as soon as their backs are turned. He usually appears as a low debauchee, delighting in equivocal jests, addicted to a mean cunning though constantly outwitted, and in the end imprisoned, whipped, and hanged. When Lady Morgan was at Naples in 1820, the *Commedia Sagra* of "Achabe" was performed at the Pulcinella Theatre, in the course of which Elijah and Ahab's high priest abused each other in good round terms, freely exchanging such epithets as *un scelerato impio* and *un scelerato ingannatore*. At the present day the coarse satire of Pulcinella, uttered in the low Neapolitan dialect, may be heard twice a day at the Teatro di San Carlino, in the Piazza del Municipio; while at Rome, a famous Pulcinella, Signor Vitale, daily draws crowded audiences to the Teatro Metastasio, near the Ripetta. In Italy, however, Pulcinella is still a living actor and very often a clever improvisatore, and not yet reduced to the condition of Addison's *homuncio raucâ voce strepens*.



### ART. III.—JESSORE.—PART III.

OF the three remaining parts of Mr. Westland's Report, we shall at present only deal with the first two, namely, "Landed Property," and "Agriculture and Commerce," as they require to be treated at length; and shall reserve the concluding part, the "Gazetteer,"—a subject sufficiently extensive in itself, for a separate and absolutely final paper.

The writer of the Report devotes the first chapter of Part Four to a description of the mode in which landed property is distributed, and the creation of the new class of Zamindárs, who came into existence subsequent to the British assuming the Government of the country. He commences by setting forth that, the few great *Zamindárs* who owned the district when the British Government were established, were succeeded soon after by numerous minor Zamindárs, owing, we may repeat, to the former failing to liquidate regularly their fixed instalments of revenue, according to the hard-and-fast rules of the Permanent Settlement. Among these new *Zamindárs*, some in course of time acquired other properties in different parts of the District, which in the aggregate made up a considerable estate; and of these the Naráil family is considered to be the only one who may be properly said to belong to the District, and hence, we presume, the members thereof honored with a separate chapter.

The landed proprietors within the *Sadr*, or Jessore sub-division, obtain priority of notice, and those of Sayyidpúr *parganá* head the list. Three-fourths, or twelve *ans.* of this splendid property is comprised within the Zamindari of the Rájá of Jessore, and the remaining four *ans.* portion, which we should state was separated from the Rájá's estates prior to the inauguration of the British Government and granted to Saláh-uddín Khán by the Nawáb, forms the *Wakf*, or Muhammadan Trust Estate, created by its subsequent owner on his death. As these have been referred to before in the Report, no further information is given. We may add, however, that the area of the *parganá* is 180·21 sq. mls., or 115,339 acres; that it includes 76 distinct estates, with a population of 49,282 souls, and yields a revenue of Rs. 147,050 *per annum*, taking the *Rupee* to be equivalent to two shillings.\* It, no doubt, formed one of the 35 *mahalls* comprised within *Sirkár* Khalifatábád, as entered in Todar Mall's rent-roll of A. D. 1582 given in Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari*; and which *Sirkár* extended

\* We are indebted for this, and similar useful and interesting information, to Dr. W. W. Hunter's valuable "Statistical Account of Bengal," vol. II.; and we think it as well to mention this fact here once for all.



over Southern Jessore, and Western Báqirganj, and contributed a revenue of Rs. 135,053 per annum to the imperial exchequer.

*Parganá Sháhujiál* is next mentioned, and it appears to have formerly belonged to the Nátor Ráj, when Rámjibana was owner thereof, (*vide Calcutta Review*, vol. LVI., p. 7,) but it was sold in sub-divisions, or *dihis*, and different persons became their purchasers.

A large *dih*i, called 'Arpára, within which Chaugáchhá is situate, belongs to the Mukhopádhyaýas (Mukharjyas) of Gobrádangá, and was purchased by one of their ancestors, Keláram Mukhárjya. The best known member of this family was Sarada Prasanna, who died in 1869, when his estates came under the control of the Court of Wards.

Another large *dih*i, known as Kaneshpúr, which includes a portion of Kotchandpúr,\* was purchased, we are told, "by Gopimohun Thákur, the principal founder of the Thákur, or Tagore family." It is a well known fact that, this eminent Hindu family are reckoned by their caste as *Pir Ali Bráhmans*, and numerous tales are current as to how they acquired this unenviable distinction. On this head Mr. Westland says, the first of the family who bore it was Purushattam,† who received it from Pir Ali, a Muhammadan officer of some authority, in this wise. It being settled in debate that the smelling of forbidden meat was only little short of actually eating it, Pir Ali contrived to bring a couple of Bráhmans near enough to it to smell it, and that either Purushattam was one of them, or he was compelled *vi et armis* to marry the fair daughter of one of these two tainted Bráhmans, who afterwards acquired the Muhammadan names of Jamál Khán and Kamal Khán. The descendants of these two persons now reside in Basantia, about fourteen miles from the station of Jessore, and they bear a Hindu first name, with the affix of "Khan Chaudhari" thereto, and the result must be a curious jumble of heterogeneous names.

Another, and in some respects similar version, is given by Bábu Gaur Dás Báisákha, Deputy Magistrate, in *Journal Asiatic Society*, Bengal, vol. XXXVI, p. 132. He there writes that, Muhammad Tahir, alias Pir Ali,‡ originally a Hindu who had renounced the religion of the trident for that of the crescent, having heard from one

\* The prefix, *Kot*, is a Persian word, signifying "Fort," so this place was, doubtless, a strong-hold of some sort or another, during the Muhammadan Government of the country, of which more hereafter.

Dr. Hunter says, that the first to whom this designation was applied was

Purúshattam Bidyábagis, and Bábu Gaur Das Baisakha says Naranraya Ray, who was not a Tagore.

† Dr. Hunter says in vol. I, p.p. 57 and 58, of his "Statistical Account of Bengal," that Pir Ali Khán "forcibly compelled one Púrúshattam Bidyábágis to smell his food."



Naranarayana Ray,\* a high caste Bráhmaṇ, that "smelling" was equivalent to "half-eating," caused some cooked forbidden food to be brought forward by stealth, and the Bráhmaṇ having lifted his cloth to his nose, was declared to have "half eaten," and thenceforth became an outcast, and his descendants are designated "*Pir Ali Bráhmans*," An ancestor of the Tagore family became associated, in what manner it is not stated, with this man, and thereby his descendants too have acquired the title of Pir Alis.

A third, and altogether different tale, is that related by Bábu Kisorí Chánd Mitrá, to account for it, in his "Memoir of Dwarká Náth Tagore." It is there stated that the Tagore family have earned the designation of Pir Alis from one of their ancestors having married into the family of the *Sudrá Rájás* of Esobpore (Yasufpúr.)

We shall leave the reader to choose one among the above three several accounts as the correct one, but for our own part we consider them one and all more or less apocryphal.

We further learn from the Report that, for six generations subsequently to Púrúshattam, the Tagores lived in Nárendrápúr, close to Rájáhát, in this district, and then Panchánan Tagore moved to Calcutta, and built a house on the site of what is now Fort William. And, on the re-capture of Calcutta by Clive, the ground being required for the erection of the Fort,—it was then, we ought to state, known as the village of Govindapúr—his son, Joyráṇ, moved to another location. The first of the family who gained wealth and position is said to have been a son of the Tagore last mentioned, named Darpanaranyan, who had profitable commercial transactions with the French at Chandarnagar.

We find from the Revd. J. Long's "Selections from the Records of the Government of India," vol. I, p 149, that Harikissen Tagore was one of the thirteen native Commissioners appointed to distribute the restitution money on the re-capture of Calcutta by the British in A. D. 1757, so that the family must have held a prominent position in native society even then, and thought of some account by the Government. And, in a petition by the natives of Calcutta to the Governor, in A. D. 1766, praying for the reprieve of one Radhácharan Mitra, sentenced to be hanged, occur the names of no less than half-a-dozen of the Tagores, to wit Bisnáráṇ, Dayáráṇ, Durgáráṇ, Harikissen, Rámnidi, and Kebulráṇ. This petition *in extenso*, with the numerous signatures appended thereto, no less than ninety-five in number, is published in the work of the venerable missionary just quoted, page 432.

This family (the Tagores) assert their claim to be descendants

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\* Mr. Westland says that descendants have retained, the sur Panchanan "entered the service of name of Thákur, which was given the British, and received, as his to all Bráhmans by the English."



of one of the five Bráhmans who came from Kanauj to Bengal at the invitation of Adisur, King of Gaur, in, it is said, A. D. 1066, or about the time of the Norman conquest of Britain. The chief of these Bráhmans, Bhattanárayan, a son of the King of Kanauj, is said to be an ancestor, and the founder of the family of the Rájá of Krishanagar, alias Nadiyá.

*Parganá Sháhujiál* appears in Todar Mall's rent-roll as one of the 88 *mahalls* in *Sirkár* Mahmudábád, which comprised the northern portions of the existing districts of Nadiyá and Jessore, and the western part of Faridpúr, and yielded to the Emperor Akbar an aggregate revenue of Rs. 290,256 a year. The *parganá* has an area of no less than 210·75 square miles, or 134,881 acres, and is divided into as many as 36 separate estates, with a population of 66,446 souls, and contributes a revenue of only Rs. 3,120 *per annum*.

Imádpúr and Yúsufpúr are next referred to, as originally forming a part of the estates of the Jessore Ráj.

The former was a *mahall* entered in Todar Mall's rent-roll as appertaining to *Sirkár* Khalifatábád. The *parganá* has an area of 54·30 square miles, or 34,755 acres, is divided into 62 estates, and has a population of 26,120 souls, and a revenue of Rs. 18,110 *per annum*.

The latter was one of the three *mahalls* comprised within *Sirkár* Fathábád, so called after one of the independent Muhammadan kings of Bengal, Jalál-ud-din Abul Muzaffar *Fath* Sháh, son of Mahmud Sháh. This *Sirkár*, we are told by Mr. Blochmann,\* extended over "a small portion of *Jessore*, the whole of *Faridpore*, † southern Bágirganj, portions of Dháká district, and the Islands of Dakhin Sháhbájpúr, Sondip, and Sidhu, at the mouth of the Megná, and that the town of Faridpúr lies in the *Harweli parganá* of Fathábád. "It afforded the imperial exchequer an annual revenue of merely Rs. 199,239. As regards the *parganá* of Yúsufpúr, it too probably derived its name from one of the same line of kings, namely Shams-uddin Abul Muzuffar *Yúsuf* Sháh, who, ruled Bengal from A. H. 879 to 886, = A. D. 1474 to 1481, and who according to Ferishtah, was a monarch of learning and ability, and strictly enforced the precept of the prophet: "No one should drink spirituous liquor." The area of the *parganá* is 216·20 square miles, or 138,371 acres. It contains the vast number, of 173 estates, and a comparatively small population of only 65,145 souls, and gives a total annual revenue, of Rs. 83,195. These figures do not include those of *parganá* Yúsufpúr which has a separate area of 35·03 square miles, or 22,423 acres, a population of 12,900 souls, and

\* Jour. A. S. B., Vol. XLII, Part I, p. 217.

† This is evidently a mistake, as Shahujiál formed a part of Faridpúr.

a revenue of Rs. 15,351 a year. Within it, is comprised 10 estates.

The lands of both *parganás*, Imádpúr and Yúsufpúr, are said to be held by numerous Zamindárs, but the principal portions are stated to belong to the Chaudhuries of Bagchar and the Naupará family.

The former family is stated to be represented by Anandchandra Chaudhuri, whose ancestor, Kabal Rám, about a century past came from Bardawán to this district, where he set up as a merchant, and acquired lands in the aforesaid *parganás*. His younger son, Guruprasád, (whose younger son is Anandchandra,) was for a time treasurer of the Jessore Collectorate, and no doubt thereby attained great wealth; but the best known member of this family was his brother, Káli Potdár, who was also a man of wealth, and distributed it with a liberal hand, in construction of works of public utility and erecting religious edifices. Of the former works, with which we need only concern ourselves, we shall append a list, taken from an article in the *Calcutta Review*, vol VI, pp. 412 and 413, contributed by that veteran writer on Indian affairs, the Revd. J. Long. They are as follows:—

1. Brick-built bridge over the Dháitálá *Khál*, 5 miles from Jessore.
2. Ditto, ditto, ditto, over the Bhairab river, at Nilganj.
3. At the same place a house of charity.
4. A road of 20 miles from Bangaon a sub-division in Nadiyá, to the banks of the Ganges, at Chukra Dhá.
5. A road of 30 miles, from Chúrámankáti to Agrádip on the Bhagirathi, with avenue of trees throughout.
6. A moiety of the cost for the erection of an iron suspension bridge over the Kabadak river at Jhingagachha. (This came down in 1846, of which more hereafter; but was immediately afterwards re-erected, and remains to this day.)
7. Brick built bridge over the Betná river at Jádabpúr.
8. Ditto, ditto, ditto, at Kaintpúr.
9. Ditto, ditto, ditto, at Naudángá, Haridáspúr.
10. A moiety of the cost of the pontoon bridge at Bangaon. (We add this last item to the list.)

From the same source we learn that, for these munificent acts of liberality, Government conferred on him the title of "*Ráy*," and bestowed on him a *Khillat*, comprising a gold and pearl embroidered crested turban, a pair of shawls, and a *Kaba*. These were presented to him by the Judge of Jessore at a *Durbar* held there expressly for that purpose, on the 30th. March 1854.

The Bagchar Chaudharis also own *taraf* Nauhátá, a large holding situate within the sub-division of Magurá.

The Naupará family, who have been stripped of nearly all



their landed possessions and wealth, derived their origin from Harideb Deb: he dwelt many centuries ago in the District of Húglí, and some of his successors are said to have held high offices under the Muhammadan Government. The first of this family who resided in Jessore was Ratneshwar Ráy, and from him down to the present time there have been five generations. Kálikanta Ráy of the preceding generation was well known in the District.

Janáidáha, or Jhanidáh sub-division is almost altogether comprised within the vast *parganá* of Mahmúdsháhi,\* which is one of the twenty-five important *mahalls* included in *Sirkár* Mahmúdábád, and therefore not identical with it, so our remarks on their comparative yield of revenue in the past and present times, which appeared in our last paper, (*Calcutta Review*, vol. LXIV., p. 366,) were written under a mistake, and do not apply. We might here add that there is also a *parganá* named Mahmúdábád in this district, which is small, and has an area of less than 3 square miles.

*Parganá* Mahmúdsháhi is the second largest in the District, and has the immense area of 326·67 square miles, or 209,104 acres. It is composed of as many as 615 separate estates, yields an annual revenue of Rs. 150,488, and supports a population of 121,587 souls.

The principal proprietors of this *parganá* are the Naldángá Rájá, before referred to, and the elder branch of the Naráil family, who will be alluded to hereafter, when treating of the sub-division of that name. The latter acquired their share of the *parganá* by purchase in 1840, and subsequent years.

Magurá sub-division comprises besides *parganá* Mahmúdsháhi, another considerable *parganá*, called Sátor, portions of which fall into the Fáridpúr district. That which is included in Jessore has an area of no less than 45·23 square miles, or 28,947 acres; is divided into as many as 403 estates; supports a population of nearly 19,282 souls; and produces a revenue of Rs. 50,627 a year.

This *parganá*, we learn, was sold on the disruption of the Nátor Ráj, and purchased by Krishná Chandrá Pál who is credited with having been the founder of the Pál Chaudhurís of Ránághát, in Krishnagar, and who acquired his wealth by trade. This fine

\* With reference to this *parganá* Account of Bengal," vol. I, p. 372. Mr. Blochmann says: "In Jafar This must have been the same Rám Khán's rent-roll, we find that the Deb Ráy mentioned in the Report, *Zamindári* of Mahmúdsháhi was p. 44, as the fourth Rájá of Naldángá, soon after 1722 conferred on Rám whose date is said to have been from Deb, a Bráhman, vide "Statistical 1698 to 1727 A. D.

property has passed away from their hands, and is now owned, in two equal or half portions, by the Gosains of Srirámpúr and one Govindá Sáhá, a trader of Dúler, in Faridpúr.

Nariál sub division comprises the extensive *parganá*s Naldi and Mukimpúr.

The former is the largest *parganá* in the district, and embraces an area of 493.20 square miles, or 315,649 acres, and possesses a population of 158,344 souls. It is separated into 842 estates, and its annual revenue amounts to Rs. 147,447. In the olden Portuguese and Dutch maps, namely those of De Barros, Blaeu, and Vanden Broucke, of the 16th and subsequent centuries, Naldi is clearly discernable and is evidently meant for the town of Naldi, on the Nabagangá, within the *parganá* of that name. This place is now a considerable trading village, and is situate five miles from Naráil. It is reputed to be of some antiquity, and there is an ancient idol worshipped there, named Káláchánd.

This *parganá* is owned by the Páikpára, or Kándi family, and a very full account of them will be found in the *Calcutta Review*, No. 115, by, we believe, the late Bábu Kessori Chánd Mitra. Pránkrishná Singh, an ancestor of this family, acquired Naldi *parganá* by purchase, Mr. Westland here says in 1798, but we believe in reality in 1801, at a sale for arrears of revenue due by Bhairabnáth Ráy, a be-námidár of Ráni Bhaváni of Nátor.

The Kándi, or Páikpára family have obtained a degree of historical importance from the connection of some of their members with Warren Hastings, namely the able brothers, Bábus Rádhá Kanta Singh and Gangágovinda Singh, who were denounced by Burke in one of his eloquent speeches delivered in Parliament on the impeachment of the aforesaid Governor-General, on the 7th May 1789.

The Report states that Hara Krishna Singh was the founder of the family, and we learn from elsewhere that he was the first of them that settled at Kándi, in the Húglí district, and that he was an *uttárári káyastha*. He began his career as a money-lender, and gradually amassing wealth, set up a trade in silk, which was then very lucrative. We also gather from the paper of Bábu Kessori Chánd Mitra referred to in the preceding paragraph, that on Hara Krishná's death, he was succeeded by Murálidhar, his son, who was a broker, and one of his three sons, Gouráng Singh *Mazumdár*, served as an officer of the Government, and obtained a *sanad* from the Emperor of Delhi granting him the vilage of Kándi in perpetuity for the endowment of the shrine Rádháballabh Ji. He had no son and adopted his nephew, Rádhá Kánta Ráy, as his heir, and he and his brother Gangá Govinda Singh, son of Bihári Singh, have been referred to before in connection with Warren Hastings. The son of the latter,



Prán Krishná Singh, was *Naib* or Deputy *Dewan* and added considerably to the acquisitions of the family, besides purchasing *parganá* Naldi. His son, Krishna Chandra Singh, was an extraordinary man, and acted for a time as *Dewan* for the settlement of the province of Orissa. He lavished large sums of money in charity and religious endowments, and was well known in the North-Western Provinces—he latterly resided at Mathurá as a *yogi* or anchorite,—as *Lálá Bábu* which, we are told, was an endearing title given to him by his grandfather, and it is usually used in Upper India in addressing respectable *Káyasthas*. His minor son, Srinarayan Singh, succeeded him, and he dying without any male issue, his eldest and youngest wives, who survived him, by his permission adopted Hari Mohan Ghosha and Ram Mohan Ghosha, sons of Krishna Chandra Ghosha (whose brother, Gaur Mohan Ghosha, was father of Ráni Katyáyani, wife of Krishna Chandra Singh, otherwise called *Lálá Bábu*,) hence the connection of the Rossarah family with that of Kándi. The above two members of the former family who were adopted, altered their names to Pratáp Chandra Singh and Iswar Chandra Singh, respectively, and became well known for their public spirit and liberality. The first received the title of "*Rájá Bahádur*" in recognition of his benefactions, by a *sanad* dated the 20th April 1854. He died in 1866, and his brother is also dead. The eldest has left four sons, and the latter only one, and their estates are under the Court of Wards, in charge of the Manager appointed by Government, Mr. Robert Harvey, who has greatly improved the property, we are informed.

Mr. Westland, in this place, alludes to the *Jote* (*Jot*) tenures current in this district, especially in *parganá* Naldi. These Jots are, evidently, hereditary and transferable tenures, and are known in the southern part of the district as *Gánthís*. They date for the most part prior to the Permanent Settlement, and correspond with the *Hawálá* tenures of the adjoining district of Báqirganj, which various High Courts decisions have declared to be hereditary and transferable tenures. The term *Jot*, we may add, literally signifies "cultivation," and originally meant, no doubt, "the holding of an actual cultivator." Whilst on the subject of tenures, we may quote from the "Statistical Account of Bengal," vol. II, p. 262, what is there stated as to the origin of *Khárijá* and *bazi-aft taluqs*: "The historical origin of the *náoará* estate "was for the maintenance "of the Muhammadan river fleet, to protect the Ganges and "Bráhmaputra from the incursions of Mugh pirates from *Arákán*. "When the *náoará* fell into arrears under the British Government, "the different portions situated in each large estate were separately sold, and the purchaser became proprietor of a *Khárijá taluq*. "The number of these estates on the rent roll of the Jessore district is returned by the Deputy Collector at 1,176. A *bázi-afti*

"*talug* is one which was formerly held rent free," and subsequently "resumed and settled under Reg. II of 1819. The number of such "estates in Jessore is 1,445."

The other large *parganá* within this subdivision, Mukimpúr, (which must not be confounded with No. 2 of that name in the Jhanidah subdivision,) has an area of 130.07 miles, or 83,637 acres, is parcelled out into 44 estates, with a population, of 142,068 souls, and a yearly revenue of Rs. 29,869. This *parganá* originally belonged to the Nátor Ráj, and was sold for arrears of revenue on the 25th February 1799, and purchased by one Rám Náth Ráy for Rs. 25,347. It was shortly afterwards again sold, and this time purchased by a Sibrám Sanyál, who in turn disposed of it to Pitrám for Rs. 19,000, as most of the lands thereof were liable to be submerged by the high inundations of that period. Pitrám carried on a flourishing trade in fish and wood with Calcutta, and on his death his property passed to his son, Rájchandrá. His wife, well known as Rásmani, succeeded him on his death, and her daughters, Padmamani and Jagadamba, have been the owners since her death, but they are said to only possess a life-interest in the estate.

The Bose Zamindárs of Sridharpúr in Naráil, are next referred to with commendation by Mr. Westland, and we believe his predecessors, Mr. J. Monro, and other District Magistrates, have always had a favorable opinion of this family. The brothers Bábus Iswar Chandra Bose and Panchánan Chandra Bose, received "Certificates of Honor," in recognition of their public spirit in Establishing a School and a Dispensary, at the *Darbar* held at Jessore to commemorate the assumption of the title of Empress of India by our Gracious Queen.

In the Khulná sub-division a number of *parganá*s are enumerated, and the first of them is Khálistpúr. It appears as a *mahall* within *Sirkár* Khalifatábád, as well as within *Sirkár* Mahmudábád, in Todar Mall's rent-roll given in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. It is a single estate with an area of 45.03 square miles, or 28,819 acres. It pays the ridiculously low sum of Rs. 58 as revenue *per annum*, and its population is estimated at only 5,875 souls.

Belphulí the next *parganá* named, is mentioned in the rent-roll of Todar Mall as one of the *mahalls* appertaining to *Sirkár* Fathábád, and it has an area of 86.95 square miles or 55,651 acres, is divided into eight estates, possesses a population of 13,005 souls, and produces a revenue of Rs. 1,189 yearly. The greater portion of this *parganá* is owned by the Datta Chundhuris of Nimtála, in Calcutta. The other principal owners are the Prasad Ráys, who live in Bhawánipúr, in the suburbs of Calcutta, and the Ramnagar Ghosha Bábus.

Hoglá is a very large and most ancient *parganá*, formerly com-



prised within the *Sirkár* of Khalifatábád, and situate exclusively on the north, or right-bank side of the Bhairab river. It derives its name from a species of bulrush, commonly called elephant grass, the vernacular designation of which is *Hoglá*, and its scientific, or botanical appellation is *Typha elephantina*, Roxburgh. The area of the *parganá* is 125.96 square miles, or 80,617 acres: it is broken up into 86 estates; its aggregate annual revenue is Rs. 30,481, and its population 27,420 souls. The *parganá* is divided into four shares, of which the elder branch of the Prasád family own 5 annas, or  $\frac{5}{8}$ ths, the young branch 3 annas, or  $\frac{3}{8}$ ths,\* the Rámnagar Ghoshas 4 annas, or  $\frac{4}{8}$ ths, and the remaining 4 annas, or  $\frac{4}{8}$ ths, belong to Messieurs Rainey of Khulná.

The last is known as the *Siki Zamindári*, which Mr. Westland says, was acquired by (the late) Mr. Rainey for the purpose of growing Indigo, and that he lived at Nehálpúr. Neither of these statements are at all correct, and as in another part of the Report Mr. Westland repeats them, referring to the establishment of the sub-division of Khulná, it is as well to correct them here, and state the actual facts.

At the permanent settlement the *Siki Zamindári* was settled with an ancestor of Rájá Ghosál of Bhui-Koylash, Kidderpúr, in the suburbs of Calcutta and was purchased from him by the late Mr. Edward Stronach Cameron, in 1807. On his death in 1826, he was succeeded by his daughter, Miss Cameron, who in 1833 married Captain William Henry Sneyd Rainey, of Her Majesty's 3rd Regiment of Foot, or Buffs, and he retiring from the Army some time afterwards, they settled at Khulná Proper, and not Nehálpúr,—a village a couple of miles away from it, and he set up various Indigo and Sugar factories. Being about the first independent European who settled in that part of the country, he was not regarded with favour by the people round about, and met with opposition from all quarters; and disputes arising, the sub-division of Khulná had to be created. Whether Mr. Rainey was an aggressor in these disputes or not, will be best known from the following extract of a letter which appeared in the *Englishman* newspaper of the 9th July 1860, from Mr. J. Rudd Rainey, the eldest surviving son of the late Mr. W. H. S. Rainey.

“Mr. Rainey being almost the first European who settled in this locality, he was naturally regarded as an innovator, and one day happening to order the fetters which Sibnáth Ghosh had put

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\* Mr. Westland is therefore wrong in stating that each holds four annas share of the *parganá*. We may also add that they at no time possessed the whole of the *parganá*.

"on a certain *Guru* to be cut off, (as he was quite ignorant of the habits of the natives, having only a short time before retired from the army), he, Sibnáth, became so enraged with this interference that he on one occasion attempted to take the life of my father, notwithstanding which he even interceded for him afterwards; nevertheless Sibnáth's guilt was so palpable, that Mr. Metcalfe—the Magistrate—"could not help sentencing him to six months' imprisonment. Besides this, on my father taking up the cause of one Debi Ghosh, a cousin of Sibnath, whom he had dispossessed of two and a half *annas* share of some landed property, fresh disputes commenced, which eventually led to serious affrays, and the sub-division having been established in the meanwhile, Mr. Shaw, C. S., the Joint Magistrate, at present Judge of Sylhet, was, with his brother, Lieut. Shaw and others, arraigned before the Bar of the Supreme Court, in a case instituted by this identical man, for aiding and abetting my father."

We need hardly add that the case was dismissed as being proved to be thoroughly false, and further comment is superfluous.

The Prasád Rai family originally came from the North-Western Provinces, and we believe in matters of inheritance and succession they are governed by the *Mitakshari* Law.

The first of the Ramnagar Ghosh family who settled in this District, was Krishná Dulál Ghosha, who migrated from Bardawán, where they still possess a little property, and was for some time *Diwan* of the Collectorate. He was thus able to acquire considerable wealth, and he purchased in the name of his son, Rádhámohan, four *ánas* share of Hoglá, and the like share of Belpulí. His sons and their children now share the property, but as disputes arose among them about their respective shares, and several affrays occurred, Government attached it, and placed a Native Manager in charge.

Two other extensive *parganás* are mentioned together as comprised within Khulná, namely, Sáhas and Sobná. Both of them appear in Todar Mall's rent-roll, as important *mahalls* appertaining to *Sirkár* Khalifatábád: the latter is there described as "Tappá Sobná, on the Bhadrapiner." They belong for the most part to the Rájá of Jessore and the Muhammadan Trust Estate. Sobná is stated by Mr. Westland to be "within the geographical limits of Sáhos," which has an area of 86.00 square miles, or 55,044 acres: it is broken up into 17 estates, and has a population of 8,244 souls, and the revenue contributed by it is Rs. 8,506 *per annum*.

Besides the above, a couple more *parganás* are specified as belonging to the Khulná sub-division, and they are Rámchandrapúr and Malái, which were formerly owned by the Rájá of Jessore. They are held, respectively, by the Táki and Sátkhirá families,



residing within the district of the twenty-four Parganás. Mr. Westland mentions nothing of the former family, but states of the latter that, they are descended from Bishnaráin Ráy, (who was a servant of the Krishnagar Rájá,) and whose son, Prán Náth Chaudhuri, succeeded him. He, we may add, died some time ago, and we believe the property is now in charge of the Court of Wards. Of the Táki family Dr. Hunter is also silent in his "Statistical Account of the Twenty-four Parganás."

Rámchandrapúr comprises an area of 80·32 square miles, or 51,404 acres; is divided into 19 estates, supporting a population 24,950 souls, and giving an annual revenue of Rs. 19,739.

The area of Malái is larger again, being 128·19 square miles, or 82,040 acres: it is portioned out into 37 estates, and yields an absolutely large revenue yearly,—Rs. 28,278, with a population of only 17,930 souls.

Bágherhát sub-division comprises several considerable *parganás*, and of those mentioned the first is Sultánpúr-Khararia, which has the immense area of 110·21 square miles, or 70,533 acres, and is divided into no less than 70 estates. Its revenue aggregates as much as Rs. 14,408 a year, and its population amounts to but 20,780 souls. Portions of this *parganá*, probably not included in the above area, fall within the adjoining district of Faridpúr. The Datta family of Nimtálá, in Calcutta, are the owners of this *parganá*, and they are descendants of Kásináth Datta, who acquired the property in 1774, by discharging the arrears due to Government by the former Zamindárs.

*Parganá* Chiruliá, which is next named, has an area of 260·87 square miles, or 17,201 acres; is divided into only 7 estates, pays an annual revenue of Rs. 18,540, and has a population of 4,855 souls. It belongs to the Gobrádángá family before noticed. It was one of the principal *máhall*s within *Sirkár* Khalifatábád, according to Todar Mall's rent-roll.

Then *parganá* Rangdia is noticed; and it was also an important *mahall* included in *Sirkár* Khalifatábád, we find from Todar Mall's rent-roll given in the *Ain*.

It is said to belong to the descendants of Dulal Sarkár, who acquired wealth as an inferior servant in the Government cloth godowns in Calcutta, and who is reputed to have been a miser. Its area is stated to be 25·24 square miles, or 16,158 acres, and it is divided into only 5 estates. The yield of revenue is Rs. 8,346 *per annum*, and the population 6,505 souls.

The important *parganá* of Salimábád is of course mentioned; and its correct designation is, we must state, Sulaimánábád, being named after Sulaimán Shah, son of Sher Shah, who ruled Bengal with singular ability from A. D. 1555 to 1573, according to Stewart. This *parganá* is credited with an area of 13·98 square

mls., or 8,955 acres, and a population of 6,000 souls. It has 17 estates comprised within it, and yields, a revenue of 4,986 Rs. *per annum*. The major portion of Sulaimánábád runs into Baqirganj District, and cannot therefore be included in the above figures. It belongs to the Deb family, residing in Báqirganj, (who are said to have originally owned the whole of it,) and the Ghosal family of Bhui Koylásh. They have now we believe, equal shares; and an ancestor of the latter, it is said in the Report, received it as a bribe from one of the predecessors of the former, for interceding for him with the Nawáb of Dháká. We do not think this is at all correct; and we believe the Ghosál family acquired wealth and position, not from one of their ancestors having been the right-hand man of Mr. Verelst, as represented by Mr. Westland, but from an ancestor of theirs, named Gokul Ghosál, who was *Diwán* of Warren Hastings, and after whom the large *Bazár* in Kidderpúr is called.

Mr. Westland concludes this chapter by giving some particulars of Sondarbon *Táluqs*. These are we conceive, nought else than *Jungle-buri* holdings, which are peculiar tenures; they generally signify permanent leases at a fixed rate of rent, and to be assessed according to the quantity of land actually brought under cultivation within a given area. *Vide* numerous precedents of High the Court, cited in Bell's "Law of Landlord and Tenant," 1874, p. 47.

The Report states that the Messrs. Morrell are the chief Sundarban *Táluqdárs*; but as they obtained their holdings direct from the Government, under the old Waste Land Rules, they ought rather to be called, we think, Sundarban Grantees, which is the designation invariably given to this class of landholders.

The writer of the Report devotes a whole chapter, of some 4½ pages, to chronicle the history of the Naráil family; but we think it only necessary to state that they are descendants from one Madan Gopál Datta, who came to Naráil from Murshidábád, and who was admittedly in indigent circumstances. His son was Rámgovind, whose son Rupráam became a *vakil* for the Nátor Rájá in the city of Murshidábád, and obtained the lease from him of a little land at Naráil. The achievements in arms of his son, Kalisankar, and the mode in which he acquired property have been stated before; therefore suffice to say that he was succeeded by his sons, Rámnaráin and Jayanaráin. The sons of the former were Rámratán, Harnáth, and Rádhácharan. The first was a remarkably able man, and greatly improved the property; and his two sons, Chandra Kumár and Kálináth, with the three sons of the other two brothers, and the two sons of Omesh, son of Harnáth, who are minors, now compose the elder branch of the family. The younger branch is now represented by Govinda, son of



Gurudás, another remarkably able man in his own way, whose father was Jainaráin aforesaid. A very heavy law-suit, valued at many lákhs of Rupees, which had been carried on for over a quarter of a century by these two rival branches of the family, has lately been compromised. One-sixth of their property, belonging to the minors, is under charge of the Court of Wards. The elder branch conjointly support a large charitable Hospital, and a successful school; and for these enlightened acts of theirs, one of their number, Bábu Pulin Chandra Ráy, younger son of the late Rádhá Charan, received a "Certificate of Honor," at the Durbar held at Jessore on the 1st of January last. The younger branch does not appear to have evinced any public spirit in any way.

"Agriculture and Commerce" take up nearly thirty-two pages, and is divided into five chapters, which we shall deal with *seriatim*.

"Sugar Cultivation and Manufacture" is treated of at some length, and the account is very interesting indeed, but we need only refer to the salient points mentioned in the Report, and comment on them. The manufacture of, and trade in sugar, dates from the last century, but it is only within the last score of years that they have assumed anything like the dimensions they now possess.

Mr. Westland is rather in error, we are inclined to think, in stating that, the first European Sugar Factory in this country was established at Dhobá, in Bardwán, by Mr. Blake. We learn from an article in the *Calcutta Review*, Vol. VI, p. 421 written by the Revd. J. Long, that in 1792, the Hon'ble the East India Company's Sugar Factory at Sántipúr supplied 14,000 mds. of produce for shipment abroad. And, in Royle's *Productive Resources of India*, London, 1840, p. 92, and Roxburgh's *Flora Indica*, Clarke's Edition, 1874, p. 81, we find that Mr. R. Cardew was in 1801, Superintendent of the, Company's Rum and Sugar Factories, at Mirzápúr, near Kalná in Bardwán. This gentleman reported of the China sugar-cane (introduced in India in 1796, and considered by Roxburgh a new species, and named by him *Saccharum Sinensis*.) that it yielded double the produce of the common Bengal sugar-cane, and that "neither the white ants nor the jackals committed any depredations on it." We may add that the common Bengal sugar-cane is *Saccharum officinarium* of Linnæus, and one of its vernacular designations, Ikshu, is supposed by some to have given its name to the Ikshumati, or Ichhamati, on the banks of which river the plant was largely cultivated, in the twenty-four Parganá District.

The Dhobá Sugar Factory was established, we believe, some time in the early part of the present century, subsequent to the

East India Company's Sugar Factory referred to in the preceding paragraph, and was due to the enterprise of Mr. Blake; and Colonel Sleeman proposed to the Agricultural Society, to award that gentleman a gold medal, "for advancing the manufacture of Sugar in India." He disposed of his several sugar factories to a Joint Stock Co. for Rs. 450,000, and they produced 800 mds. of sugar in 1836. The company had in Jessore, besides the two factories mentioned by Mr. Westland, Trimohini and Kotchandpur, another one, namely Keshabpúr; and they at one time, in 1846, employed a large establishment, composed of four Europeans and two hundred and fifty natives.

The eventual failure of the European Factories was mainly owing, in our opinion, to their being unable to work so cheap as the native sugar refineries, and we are inclined to think that the natives at that time had a strong prejudice against eating sugar clarified with animal charcoal, and therefore there was little demand for it from them.\*

Almost all the sugar that is now manufactured in this District is produced from juice of what Botanists designate the wild date tree (*Phoenix Sylvestris*, Roxb.) and not the true, or Arabian date (*P. dactylifera*, Willd.) as by a curious mistake it is stated to be by a writer in the "Statistical Reporter," vol. I, p. 138. The tree should not be tapped before its seventh year, and it yields juice continuously every season for more than a score of years: the number of notches it has on either side indicates the number of years it has been cut, and *plus* the years it had not been cut at the commencement, shows its exact age. Mr. Westland gives full details of the different processes of manufacture, but we need only here, we think, give the barest outlines of the mode in which sugar is usually manufactured from the saccharine sap of the date.

A month or so before the cold season sets in, the lowest leaves of the tree with their sheaths are cut away; and, sometime afterwards an incision is made on the top into the pith, and a grooved peg, made from the leaf of the Palmyra, is there inserted, which drains the juice flowing from the tree into an earthen vessel suspended below. The juice is gathered early next morning, and boiled down to raw sugar, called *gur*. It is afterwards refined, by being re-boiled with the leaves of a certain aquatic plant, named by the natives *shylá*, which grows only in fresh water, and is designated by Willdenow, *Valisneria octandra*.

The greatest quantity of sugar is manufactured at Keshabpúr,

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\* This prejudice evidently still prevails, for we read in the "Statistical Reporter," vol. I p. 139: "The refined sugar of Katchardpur is said to be specially acceptable to Hindus from the fact that animal charcoal is not used in the process of refining."



and it is also the largest mart in the District. We glean from the "Statistical Reporter," vol. I, p. 139, that whilst in 1865-1866 the amount of sugar manufactured there was only 39,405 mds., nine years afterwards, or in 1874-1875, it rose very nearly four-fold, or as high as 1,56,475 mds. As regards its trade, we learn from the same source that, in 1874-1875, mds. 13,952 of sugar were exported to Calcutta, and its local sales amounted to mds. 82,523. The value of sugar, as well as *chitá gur*, or molasses, which latter is not included in the above figures, amounted in that year we are told, in the aggregate to exactly Rs. 25,04,220.

The interchange of commodities between Báqirganj and Jessore is clearly pointed out. The former sends rice, and receives in exchange sugar. The largest mart for sugar is Basantia, on the Bhairab, in the Jessore District, and the largest mart for rice is Nalchiti, in the Báqirganj District. Of course the sugar trade is, as Mr. Westland states, "a great source of wealth to the District," and we may point out that it proves remunerative to no limited class, for it benefits alike the agriculturalists, who plant the trees and prepare the raw material, the petty traders, who sell it to the refiners, who turn it into sugar, and dispose of it to the wealthy *mahajans*, or merchants, who export it to Calcutta; and all these classes reap their share of profits from it. It also indirectly benefits the landholders, who get a better price for their lands planted with date trees.

The following chapter of ten pages discusses the Rice Trade and questions relating to Sundarban Reclamation together, but we shall deal with them separately, as this arrangement will be more convenient both for us and the reader. And in noticing the former, we shall also have occasion to refer to the next chapter, which exclusively treats of the Rice Trade.

Jessore, with its immense *Bil* or marshes to the north, and its rich low lands to the south, comprising the cultivated portion of the Sundarban, is emphatically a rice-growing District, and a large quantity of this grain is annually exported thence to the Presidency for shipment to other Indian ports.\* The rice crop is a highly remunerative one, and that it does not conduce to the wealth of the cultivators as it ought, we shall here take the opportunity of explaining shortly, more so as we do not find the subject referred to in the Report under consideration, or anywhere else to our knowledge. The cultivators have to trust, as a rule, in a great measure, to borrowed capital, with which they

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\* Mr. H. J. S. Cotton, in his article in the *Calcutta Review*, vol. LVIII, p. 276, says "It will be seen that the proportion of rice that leaves Bengal for Indian ports is enormous. It amounts annually to between 1,50,000 to 200,000 tons."



discharge their instalments of rents as they become due, and support themselves, and for which they have to pay interests to the extortionate *Mahájans*, or money-lenders, varying from 50% to 75% *per annum*. So that if a husbandman needs for himself and family, say Rs. 72 a year to support them, and to liquidate his rents, say Rs. 12 more, or in all Rs. 84, he has to get the loan of at least a moiety of that sum, Rs. 42, on which he is required to pay interest not less than Rs. 21, and this sum he must make over and above his out-goings, to be simply in a solvent condition. The land must be prolific indeed if it can support the husbandman and his family, and leave a surplus, after discharging the rents, etc., of as much as 25%, but it cannot be expected to do more under the most favorable conditions. Hence, taking good and bad seasons together, the cultivator is always in a chronic state of indebtedness; and the *Mahájans* actually reap the profit of the lands, and fatten on it, whilst the cultivators are loaded with debt, from which they can hardly ever expect to free themselves.

Mr. Westland states that, much rice is imported from the adjoining District of Báqirganj, to supply the wants of the riceless regions of Jessore, but this is not, we must point out, because the quantity grown within this District is insufficient to meet all the local demands: it is simply owing to the fact that rice is obtained more cheaply from Báqirganj, and it pays the Jessore dealers better to send their commodity to Calcutta, than dispose of it within the limits of the District itself, where the prices are rarely high.

The three principal crops of rice grown are the *Boro*, in the *Bils*, or marshes, sown on dry land in winter, and reaped in March, or April; the *Aman*, sown mostly in the Southern parts on low land in the rainy season, and reaped in the cold weather, from December to January; the *Aus*, sown on comparatively high land, especially in the northern parts, in spring, and reaped in autumn, as its specific vernacular designation signifies. Extraordinary high inundations will damage the first and second, and cyclones accompanied with storm-waves, especially if composed of brackish water, almost irretrievably destroy the first. Drought will absolutely ruin the second, and the last.

Rice is known to the natives under different names in its different conditions, and they will be found enumerated at length in Dr. W. W. Hunter's "Statistical Account of Bengal," vol. II., p. 243: we need not repeat them here.

The statistics of the out-turn of rice and other crops, as given by Westland, and those furnished to Dr. Hunter by the Collector of Jessore, (? Mr. A. Smith,) vary considerably, and we cannot pretend to reconcile them. In fact the uncertainty on this head is common throughout the country. It is impossible for us to give



absolutely accurate figures on this point, and rather than supply mere hap-hazard ones, we prefer to furnish none.

It may interest the reader to know that, as regards the proportion of husk and grain in various kinds of paddy, or unhusked rice, the result of investigations recorded in the *Statistical Reporter*, vol. I., p. 136, shows that, the average quantity of the former is  $\frac{1}{6}$ ths, and the latter  $\frac{1}{8}$ ths.

We have now to consider the narrative given in the Report about Sundarban reclamation; and we shall for convenience sake first deal with the questions regarding what we may, we think, be permitted to term, the past state of the Sundarban. We shall also here consider Mr. H. Beveridge's valuable paper in Jour. As. Soc. B., vol. LXV., entitled. "Were the Sundarbans inhabited in ancient times?"

The designation, Sundarban, is now generally admitted to signify the "*Sundri Forest*," though various more or less fanciful etymologies have been suggested by different persons, vide Jour. As. Soc., B., vol. LXII, p. 226. If it always bore this name, then there would be good reason for assuming that it could never have been cultivated, or inhabited. But, Mr. Blochmann has discovered that, "Muhammadan historians call the coast strip from the Húglí to the Megná *Bhāti*, or low land, subject to the influx of the tide;" so its former designation rather tends to prove that it was not always a forest.

Dr. T. Oldham has most fully and clearly pointed out, (Pro. As. Soc., B., 1870, pp. 46 to 51,) that well known physical changes, the shifting of the southern course of the Ganges from the west to the east, and its junction with the Brahmaputra, have caused the rivers in the western tract of the Sundarban to become brackish, which *per se* is sufficient to account for its present state of utter desolation: for—to quote the *ipsissima verba* of the learned Doctor—"the very first necessity for the existence of man is the presence of sweet drinking water, and where this cannot be provided, it is certain that man can make no settlement." This goes to show that the western Sundarbans were inhabited, when the conditions there were different from what we now find them, and similar to what the eastern Sundarbans are at present, where the lands are well cultivated, and rather thickly populated, down to the sea board. Thus, we venture to think, we satisfactorily prove the existence of population in the western Sundarban in ancient times on a broad and sound basis, and altogether independent of the existence of numerous ruins, which may or may not date subsequent to the occurrences of the physical changes referred to above, and to the incursions of the Mughls and Portuguese pirates, which are known to have taken place thereafter.

Mr. Beveridge endeavours in his article mentioned above, and



which, we believe forms, at least the substance of one of the chapters in his recently published work on the Báqirganj District, to prove that the Sundarbans could not have been populated in ancient times, and attempts to establish the identity of Chandecan not with Jessore-Iswaripúr, as stated by mistake in the P. S. affixed to our first paper, but with Dhumghát.

As regards the first part of Mr. Beveridge's contention, he, unfortunately for himself, quotes Ralph Fitch, who travelled in this country in A. D. 1586; for that traveller testifies to the tract of country, now designated the Sunderbun, as being great and fruitful, the houses being very firm and high built, the streets being large, &c. And, the fact of the people going about in a semi-nude state, with only "a little cloth about their waist," a scanty garb in every way suited to the tropical climate, and still in vogue in some of the out-of-the-way Districts in Bengal, will not show that, the people were only a little civilized, and far less that the Sundarbans were uninhabited, for that is after all the gist of what Mr. Beveridge wishes to establish, as the title of his paper clearly sets forth. Such arguments as these are not calculated to prove the non-existence of inhabitants in the Sundarban, and we need say nothing further on this head.

Nor is Mr. Beveridge more fortunate, we think, in what he advances regarding the identity of Chandican, or Ciandecan, with Dhumghát. Mr. Beveridge conjectures that Khán Jahán Ali's descendant was one Chánd Khán—we may state, *en passant*, that we are nowhere informed that Khan Jahán left any descendants,—and the property acquired by Pratápáditya's father, Vikrá náditya, from the last of the so-called independent kings of Bengal, Daud Khán, belonged to Chánd Khan,\* and was named after him. It is necessary to state that, the city established by Vikrá náditya was called Jasar, or Yashahara, but his son, Pratápáditya, removed the capital some distance away from it, about a dozen miles, to Dhumghat, where he built another city; so that if the alleged olden name, Chánd Khán, or Chandecan,† adhered to either of the above two places, it would certainly cling to the former, and not to the latter, as Mr. Beveridge, we believe, erroneously supposes. This, and other discrepancies and inaccuracies, were pointed out to us in a letter from a gentleman, who

\* It is undoubtedly a well-known historical fact that, the grant belonged to one Chánd Khán, but its then name, as far as we are aware, is nowhere specified.

† It is just possible that Chandecan is identical with Chandiswar on the

Haringhata river, close to, almost adjoining Tiger Point, where we are told, some ruins exist. We have not enquired into this point at all, and simply throw it out as a suggestion; others can follow it up if they care to do so.



has an intimate knowledge of the locality and subject, and whose name we do not consider ourselves at liberty to divulge. We should here point out that, a little below Jessore, Iswaripúr, is a clearance, marked on the Government Survey Map as "Chand-kháli Chuck," and so if the former (Muhammadan) owner gave his name to any spot, it is probably to this place, and we would fain draw the attention of those interested in the subject to it, with the view of elucidating the point, if possible.

Mr. Beveridge's paper is, we should add, well worth reading, and contains much useful information: the extracts from the letters of the Jesuit priests, Fathers Fernandez, Josa, &c, given in it, contain very interesting and curious matter.

The depredation committed by tigers is prominently noticed, and from our personal knowledge, derived when Manager of the Jessore Sundarban Forests for the "Port Canning Co.," we are able to state, that the number of deaths is exceedingly large among wood-cutters, &c., especially those who go there to cut that thatching leaf known to the natives as *gol-pátá*, the so-called nipa palm (*Nipa fruticosa*, Willd.), which grows on the margin of the rivers and *kháls*. And a single tiger when it turns, what sportsmen expressively term, a "man-eater," does commit a vast deal of havoc, as it loses all fear of man, and discovers his insignificant strength. One of these tigers was, we are informed by Mr. Westland, mortally wounded by Mr. Morrell, whilst he was securely ensconced within the precincts of an iron cage.

The *Boális*, or professional wood-cutters, have a regular system of operation; and as it is rather curious in some respects it will, we fancy, interest our readers. They invariably proceed to a temporary location of a *Fákir* in the Sundarban, termed *Sái*, to whom they give a small sum of money, varying according to the reputation he has gained for protecting them from tigers, etc., which he is supposed to be able to do through the kind interposition of the sylvan spirits, who are propitiated by sacrifice and prayer. The *Fákir* is also expected to be able to point out to them the best description of timber, and as he is generally an old wood-cutter himself, he is not deficient in wood-craft. Any one day in the week is a day of rest, especially set apart for the worship of the local deities. Their images, made of mud and paint, are kept within small huts, and they are also regularly worshipped every morning by the wood-cutters and the *Fákir* before proceeding to their work. If the timber is either inferior or scanty and a single man is carried off by a tiger, the location is abandoned at once, especially if the wood-cutters have brought with them a special *Fákir*, which is sometimes the case; but, if the wood is both good and plentiful, the *Sái* will not break up until many men are taken away, in fact till it becomes absolutely untenable.

These *Fákirs*, who are all arrant impostors, usually make a good thing of it, and they are tempted to follow this precarious mode of life, for such in reality it is, from sheer love of gáin. Once a woman to our knowledge set up a *Sái*, accompanied by a so-called disciple and a couple of goats, and it for some time had a great run; but she afterwards had her two goats killed by tigers, and eventually her *Chelá*, or disciple, when she prudently decamped at once. The wood-cutters have, undoubtedly, a hard life of it; and none proceed there from choice, as the saying common among them shows:—

তাহার নাহি ধণ,

সে যায় সন্দর বণ।

Which being freely translated, to preserve the rhyme, runs thus:

“He who (unfortunately) lacks pelf,  
To the Sundarban transports himself.”

We should in this place, we think, enumerate the large game of the Sundarban; and as we have described them at some length in various Nos. of the *Oriental Sporting Magazine*, New Series, under the *nom de plume* of *Young Nimrod*, it may interest the reader to know where such accounts are to be found, so we shall quote the volume and page of the periodical within brackets after their respective names. Thus, we shall give the common, or vulgar English names first, then the vernacular designations in inverted commas, and lastly the scientific appellations in italics, followed by the names of the zoologists who have bestowed them, and (within brackets) the volume and page of the *O. S. M.* in which we have described the animals:

1. Tiger “Bára Bágh,” *Felis tigris*, Linn. (V, 511).
2. Leopard “Bagh,” *F. Leopardus*, Linn, Kenduya. (VI, 19).\*
3. Large Tiger-cat, “Bágh-dásá,” *F. celiogaster*, Temminck, Gray. (VI, 78).
4. Wild, or Leopard-cat, “Ban-birál,” *F. Bengalensis*, Desmanti. (VI, 118).
5. Rhinoceros, “Ganrar,” *Rh. Sondaicus*, Müller. (V, 300).
6. Wild Buffalo, “Ban Mahis,” *Bubalus arvi*, Jerdon. (IX, 267, Heads illustrated).
7. Wild Pig, “Ban Suar,” *Sus Indicus*, Schinz; (IX, 337).

\* Naturalists do not consider the greater size,—the head especially ‘panther’ and ‘leopard’ to be distinct species, and they therefore designate both as above stated, *F. Leopardus*, Linn. But some sportsmen, such as Walter Elliot, Mountaineer (Wilson,) separate them. They describe the ‘panther’ to be of larger size,—the head especially larger, the color of the coat less dark, and in its habits more retiring, fierce, and wary than that of, what they reckon to be, the true leopard. The variety found in Lower Bengal would, according to them, be the ‘panther.’



8. Swamp Deer, "Nal-Baniyá Harin," *Cervus Duvaucelli* Cuvier, (II, 226, Illustrated.)
9. Spotted Deer, "Chitá Harin," *Cervus axis*, Esxl. (II, 321. Illustrated).
10. Hog Deer, "Chagal Harin," *Cervus porcinus*, Blyth. (II 368).
11. Barking Deer, "Ghágas," *Cervulus aureus*, Ham. Smith (II, 484).
12. Crocodiles, two species, "Kumir," *Crocodilus parosus*, Schneid, et *C. palustris*. Less.
13. Monitor Lizard, "Go-Sánp," *Varanus dracena*, Linn.
14. Gigantic Water-Lizard, also "Go-Sánp," *Hydrosaurus giganteus*, Gray.
15. Indian Python, "Bárá Sánp," *Python molurus*, Linn.
16. Common Bengal Monkey, "Bandar," *Macacus erythræus*, Schreb.

The last five are additions to the list. And of the *Avi-Fauna*, we have described those which may be reckoned "legitimate food for powder," in various Nos. of the *Oriental Sporting Magazine*, New Series, vols. II, to V, under the title of "The Game Birds of the Sundarban," *quod vide*. We may add that the following conspicuous birds breed in the Sundarban :

1. Pallas's Sea Eagle, "Kurál," *Haliaeetus Leucoryphus*, Pallas.
2. Black, or King vulture, "Ráj Ságan," *Vultur calvus*, Scopoli.
3. Common vulture, "Sagan," *Gyps Bengálensis*, Gmelin.
4. Gigantic Stork, "Hargila," *Leptoptilos argala*, Linn.
5. Hair-crested Stork, "Madan-tiki," *L. Javanica*, Horsfield.
6. Alexandrine Paraquet, "Chandana," *Paleornis Alexandri*, Linn.
7. Large Racket-tailed Drongo, "Bhinráj," *Edolius paradiseus*, Linn.

To return to the Report. The Steamer and Boat routes *via* the Sundarban differ, as the former passes along the larger rivers running through the densely jungly and uncultivated tracts, whilst the latter passes by the smaller rivers running through the cultivated parts, and has a regular towing path all the way from Calcutta to Khulná, a distance of 115 miles, and thence to Fákirbát, in the Bágherhat sub-division, *en route* to Báqirganj. Large heavily laden boats have to take, however, a more southerly and dangerous route, owing to some of the canals in the regular boat route having insufficient water to float them.

The penultimate chapter of part three, comprising a little more than four pages, describes the several Sundarban industries, the chief of which is the Wood Trade.

It would appear that, in the early times, when Mr. Henckell ruled the district, the Forest Revenue realized by the Government, amounted to Rs. 5,000: *vide* p. 11 of the Report; but we are not informed *when* and *why* it ceased to be collected; for long previous to the *Bankar*, or Forest rights of the Sundarban, being leased to the "Port Canning Co.," the Government derived no pecuniary benefit from their vast unappropriated Forests, and all were permitted to fell and remove timber, etc., without let or hinderance. The aforesaid Co. had it on a lease for, we believe, five years; and after encountering much opposition from *Fákirs* and Wood-cutters, oft-times aided by the Police, they were able to realize a fair amount of profit.\* But the Government, apparently surprised at the extent of their realizations, raised all the impediments they could in their way, and on some pretext cancelled the lease granted before the expiration of the quinquennial period. It was alleged that there was a great deal of oppression practised by the native subordinates of the Co. in the interior, countenanced by their European superiors,† and that the tariff of the Co. was oppressive in the extreme. The then Lieutenant Governor, Sir William Grey, was at least consistent in his action when he refused to re-establish the *Bankar* Department under Government Management, on the ground that it was simply impossible to prevent the underlings from oppressing the Wood-cutters, and he would not "*legalize oppression.*" A change in the *personnel* of the local Government, however, caused a change in its policy, and it being hard to forego the immense profit likely to be derived from this new source of Revenue, the Forest Department was inaugurated in the Sundarban late in 1875, and Mr. A. L. Home, Deputy Conservator, placed in charge. To him succeeded Mr. Jacob, Deputy Conservator, then Mr. Davis, Assistant Conservator, and now Mr. Richardson, also Assistant Conservator, who has a large and expensive establishment under him, and the services of a fine small Steamer at his disposal to move about in. Although the tariff, introduced by the Forest Department is higher than that imposed by the "Port Canning Co.," yet Government Reports never breathe a word about its being oppressive, and that notwithstanding the stringent rules in force for confiscating boats found without license in the Sundarban. We may add, that Forest Conservancy is utterly useless in the Sundarban; for planting out trees is wholly

\* They, however, never realized Rs. 20,000 at Chauki Chándkháli in any month, as Mr. Westland appears to have been informed.

† When we were in charge of the Jessore Sundarban Forests, we did not

have a single complaint preferred against either us, our European Assistant, or Native Subordinates, but, we had some *Fákirs* and Wood-cutters imprisoned for trespass.



unnecessary ; and realizing the Forest dues and preventing *Sundri* trees under a certain girth from being felled by Wood-cutters, is all the work imposed upon this *Scientific* Department, as it is called. And on this point, we shall state what Mr. Home very candidly reported, as quoted by Dr. Hunter in his "Statistical Account of Bengal," vol. I., p. 311.

"I do not believe that any special measures are necessary to "insure a full and regular supply"—of wood—"for the future."

In the "Statistical Reporter," vol. I, there is a list of thirty of the "Trees and Shrubs in the Sundarban," with—for the most part—their botanical designations ; and in the "Statistical Account of Bengal," vol. I, we are also furnished with a succinct account of "thirty principal kinds of timber found in Sundarban" with their botanical names too, in all except a few instances. For these botanical names given by Dr. Hunter, he states : "I trust entirely to the scientific accuracy of Mr. Home, Deputy Conservator of Forests, Bengal ;" but, we should like to know to whom the latter gentleman is indebted for his information on this head, for we are not aware that he professes to be aught of a competent Botanist. We do not think it necessary to give any enlarged and revised list of trees here, especially as our present paper has already grown to great length ; but we ought, we think, to notice certain errors that have somehow crept into the list given by Dr. Hunter. *Balai* and *Bhaila* described as different trees, (Nos. 3 and 4,) are in reality merely different names for one and the same tree, which, according to Roxburgh, is not *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, but *H. tortuosus* ; though the dimensions of the tree, and its average length of timber, as given by the Deputy Conservator of Forests and the Sundarban Commissioner vary considerably, being according to the former, 6 inches, and 6 feet, respectively, and according to the latter, 22 feet, and 12 feet, respectively. The latter are, we think, the more trustworthy figures of the two, as the tree is undoubtedly a large one. A precisely similar awkward mistake is made with regard to *Cynometra bijuga*, which is described as two separate trees, (Nos 26 and 27,) that it is to say, as *Singrá*—its correct name—as stated by the Sundarban Commissioner, and then as *Sinj*, as stated by the Deputy Conservator. These errors appear to have arisen from Dr. Hunter not having given the botanical nomenclature of the trees mentioned by the Sundarban Commissioner.

With regard to the timber tree *par excellence* of the Sundarban, the *Sundri*, we note that both the writers in the "Statistical Reporter," and the "Statistical Account of Bengal," noticed in the preceding paragraph, mention only a single species, namely *Heritiera littoralis* (of Willdenow), which is, we believe, rare in



the Sundarban, but common in Burmah;\* whilst the other species, *Heritiera minor* (of Lamareck,) which is common in the Sundarban, and rare in Burmah, is omitted altogether. This is rather a glaring omission in both lists, and we have thought it necessary to point it out, more so as it appears to be an error commonly made by different writers on the Sundarban. As *H. minor* is the most important tree of these Forests, we think a few interesting and useful particulars regarding it, taken from a work on "Indian and Burmah Timber," will not be out of place here. We there find it stated of this wood that, its specific gravity is 1.024; weight of a cubic foot of unseasoned and seasoned wood, 80lbs, and 64lbs., respectively; and that it is strong, fibrous and flexible, tolerably "close grained, not very durable, of a light "red color, turning to a reddish brown, and not easily marked." As regards its alleged lack of durability, we think it would be worth while trying the experiment of preserving the wood with salts of copper and ammonia, as recommended by M. Rottier to the *Académie Royal de Belgique*, for most of the boats in the Gangetic Delta are built of *sundri* planks.†

The last tree noted down by Dr. Hunter, is the *Uriya A'm*, "as reported on by the" (Sundarban) "Commissioner," and as usual in such cases, its botanical name is not specified: it is, as far as we are able to judge from its native name, *Mangosera oppositifolia* of Roxburgh, and it is a rather close-grained and durable timber, in great request by native carpenters.

The timber trade of the Sundarban is, and has always been, a lucrative one, we believe. The first regular notice of it, at least to our knowledge, is that given in the Revd. J. Long's "Selections from the Records of the Government of India," vol. 1, when Warren Hastings was engaged in it, in A. D. 1762, or more than a century ago. It is recorded in that work, p.p 319 and 320, that a formal complaint was lodged against Mr. Hastings' Agents, Messrs. Rose, Kelly and Campbell for "making bad use of Sepoys," and also gives Mr. Hastings' explanation of their conduct.

Another important Sundarban industry, referred to by Mr. Westland, is the cutting of a certain reed known as *Nal* (*Arundo karka*, Willdenow,) for mat making, which gives employment to a rather large class in the district, known as *Naluás*. The

\* Vide Mr. Balfour's "Timber Trees of India," Madras, 1862, p.p. 128 and 129, and Roxburgh's *Flora Indica*, Calcutta, 1874, p. 506. We may also mention, as a curious coincidence, that of the two species, of Crocodiles, *C. porosus* is common in

Burmah, and rare in the Sundarban whilst *C. palustris* is just the reverse. Vide Jour. As. Soc., B. 1868.

† These are rapidly destroyed below Salt water by a species of small destructive animals of the genus *Teredo*.



inferior sort of mats made of this material are, we may state, called *Darmás*, and the superior kind designated *Maluás*.

A strong and stout species of cane is obtained in the Sundarban called *Bára*, or *Bágher-Bet* (*Calamus fasciculatus*, Roxb.) which is used for basket-making, and this also gives employment to a number of people, who belong to the *mochi*, or shoe-maker caste.

Most of the houses in the southern parts of the district are thatched with fronds of the so-called nipa palm, (*Nipa fruticans*, Willd.) designated in the vernacular *Gol-pátá*, which is only obtained in the Sundarban.

A good deal of shell-lime is manufactured in this district, and walls plastered with it are almost as smooth as marble, and it is also, evidently, very durable. These shells are picked up on the sea-face of the Sundarban, and are of two kinds, the conical and the circular, termed respectively *Jongrá* and *Jhinak*.

'Chay' which is one of the ingredients used with the betel leaf, (*Chavica betle*), by the natives, is manufactured from the ashes of the shell-lime mixed with a sufficient quantity of water to give it the consistency of paste. It is as well to add that the betel plant is largely cultivated in the Jessore District, and proves a source of immense profit to the caste of Hindus engaged in its cultivation, who are called *Baráis*, whilst the betel plantation or garden is named *Baraj*, where the *nal* reed, before mentioned, is used for the plants to trail on, they being creepers, and to protect them above from the sun, as they are unable to stand the scorching rays.

Honey is also obtained in pretty large quantities from the Sundarban; and though it proves a rather lucrative trade to those who gather it, yet few care to pursue it, as the danger of being carried off by tigers is very great indeed. A party of seven, nine, or more men, usually go in a small narrow boat; and as they have to penetrate into the heart of the Forest in single file to search for the hives, and rarely carry fire-arms with them, they fall an easy prey to the cunning of the "savage monarch of the woods," who stealthily follows them, and pounces on one or more of them quite suddenly. In former times, we may add, wax and honey used to be sent from these parts regularly to the Court at Murshidábád; and grants of lands were set apart as compensation to those who procured these articles, and such holdings are to this day known as "*Mum*," or "*Wax mahalls*."

The Sundarban fisheries are very valuable, and were leased by the Government for a time to the "Port Canning Co.," but disputes arose with the fisherman, who contended that they had



a prescriptive right to fish free in these parts, and it was, we believe, decided by one of the Mufasal Courts that, they were so entitled. And the opinion of the then Advocate General Mr. T. Cowie, now Q. C., supporting that judgment, the Government decided to annul the said leases, and the "P. C. Co's." leases were accordingly cancelled. The fishes of the Sundarban are too numerous to mention in this paper, but a few of the principal ones might be noticed, and this we intend to do. The largest and best known to Europeans is the *Cock-up*, or *Bhecti*, (*Lates calcarifer*), a marine, migratory, predacious fish, which regularly ascends the wide streams: it is rather coarse, but not devoid of flavor. One of the smaller kind, and certainly the most delicious eating, is the *Tapasaya-matsaya*, known to us as the mango fish, because it comes in season about, the same time as the green mangoes do. That extremely rich fish, but full of bones, *Hilsá* or *shad* (*Clupea palasah*, Ham. Buch.,) is occasionally to be found there, and the *Kharsálá*, or mullet, (*Mugil corsula*, Ham. Buch.,) is never absent. The curious climbing perch, or *kai*, (*Anabas scandens*, Daud,) is there to be seen suspended by its primary dorsal fins to the stem of the mangrove tree (*Rhizophora mucronota*,) and the still more curious mud fish (*Periophthalmus*,) can be observed running up the slimy sloping banks, and disappearing in a hole of its own making.

The Crustacea are plentiful, including the much prized oysters, prawns, shrimps, and the delicious scarlet-coated crab.

Owing to the indiscriminate destruction of the small fry by the use of nets with small meshes, the fish supply has, even the natives admit, fallen off considerably, in this, as in all other Districts; and the advisability of enacting a law to prevent the loss continuing, was lately proposed by us to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. But Mr. Eden decided that, "the matter is one which cannot usefully be dealt with by legislation, as any attempt to enforce such a law as that proposed would involve much danger of oppression, and might lead to greater evils than those which it is intended to remove." This is a candid enough admission, and considering the source from which it emanates, rather significant. The Police evidently, cannot be relied on to do their duty without oppression; and there can be no doubt that this staple food of the people of Bengal will gradually diminish in quantity, and increase in price, until a fish-famine sets in, when it will be too late to apply any remedy of any kind, however heroic. In the report of Dr. Day on the "Fresh Water Fish and Fisheries of India and Burmah," published in 1873, the enactment of a General Fishery Act is strongly advocated.

Water Snakes are numerous too, and we might here state that, whilst all snakes found in sweet water are, as a rule,



innocuous, those living in brackish water are venomous, as this information may be useful to those who have any thing to do with the latter.

Among the order *Chelonia*, or Turtles, we cannot resist naming the "logger head" to be found on the sea-board (*Chelonia olivacea*, Eschs,) which *albeit* carnivorous in its habits, is usually mistaken for the herbivorous, or true edible turtle, *Chelonia virgata*, Schweigg). It, however, can be easily distinguished from the latter, as the former has fifteen plates on its back, and the latter two less, thirteen. Mr. W. Theobald Junior, the best authority in India on Reptiles of this country, says on this head in Journal Asiatic Society, B. 1868: "Few Europeans have any idea but that it is the true edible turtle, and in their innocence glory in soup made from it."

The last trade mentioned by Mr. Westland as carried on in the Sundarban, is wrecking. Strong boats well found and manned proceed before the setting in of the cold weather to the sea side, and pick up pieces of valuable teak timber and other articles strewn on the beach, belonging to unfortunate vessels wrecked in the Bay. These excursions prove some times very remunerative. It used to be formerly clandestinely pursued; and the Police, it is reported, were to be feed not to interfere with these ill-gotten gains, as they were supposed to be unlawful. But some years ago, when, we believe, Mr. Westland was District Magistrate of Jessore, one Prán Hari Dás, a *Vakil* of the Munsif's Court at Khulná was somehow detected in carrying on this illegal trade, as it was thought, and the matter being represented to the Advocate General for his opinion, he stated that the Government officials had no right to interfere. Hence the immunity from interference since then; and the trade, such as it is, is now openly carried on, though we hear that the Native Subordinates of the Forest Department are endeavouring to retard it, for reasons it is needless to specify.

The concluding chapter of this part occupies almost a page, and refers to the "trade in Betel nuts, Cocoanuts, and Pepper."

The Betel nuts are the product of the Areca tree, (*A. catechu*, Linn.,) which is cultivated in the south-eastern parts of the District, within the limits of the Khulná and Bágherhat sub-divisions. They are gathered by the people round whose homesteads the trees are grown, and sold to *Bipáris*, or petty traders, who carry them in small boats for sale to the other parts of the District, as well as the adjoining District of the Twenty-four Parganá. The Coconut tree (*Coco nucifera*, Linn.,) flourishes in the same localities, and the cocoanuts are disposed of in a similar manner.

There only now remains for us to notice, what Mr. Westland terms, "the Pepper Trade;" and he is, no doubt, strictly right



in so doing, but it is very apt to lead people to think that, he refers to the product of the pepper vine, or black pepper, (*Piper nigrum*, Linn.) rather than to that of, what we in this country are accustomed to call, the common chilly, (*Capsicum frutescens*, Willdenow,) and known to the natives as *Mirchá*. This plant, it appears, is largely cultivated in the sub-division of Chuadángá, in the Nadiyá District, and in those portions of the Jessore District bordering thereon. The produce appears to be brought to Jhanidah in carts, shipped thence to Mágurá in small boats, sold there to the traders from Nalchitti in Báqirganj, who re-ship it in the large boats to that place. The reason for this double shipment is not explained by Mr. Westland; but we believe it to be owing to the fact that the boats that come from Nalchitti are of the larger sort, and the Nabagangá river as far as Jhanidáh is too shallow to permit of these boats returning laden thence in all except, probably, the height of the rainy season. Of course this could be easily obviated by the produce being brought by road down to Mágurá itself, but such a practice would militate against the *dastur*, or "custom," and most natives in the interior are simply the slaves of custom.

In the preceeding paper we have detailed a novel method of manufacturing indigo, recommended by Mr. Boyce in 1788, and we shall now give a brief account of another novel mode of preparing "the blue dye." It consists in obtaining the produce by the *maceration of the dried leaves*; and we quote it in contradistinction to the mode in vogue in this country, which is by the *fermentation of the fresh leaves and stems*. It is taken from Ure's *Dictionary of Arts and Manufactures*, and is given in Doctor Hunter's "Statistical Account of Bengal," vol. II., p. 98, where it is stated to be "most advantageous," but no proofs in regard thereto are mentioned:

"The ripe plant being cropped, is dried in the sun during two days and then threshed, in order to separate the stems from the leaves. The newly dried leaves must be free from spots, and friable between the fingers. When kept dry, the leaves undergo a great change in the course of a few weeks, their beautiful green tint turning into a pale blue-grey. Previous to this change the leaves afford no indigo. The process of extracting the indigo from the dried leaves is as follows:—The leaves are infused in the steeping vat with six times their bulk of water, and allowed to macerate for two hours, the mixture being continually stirred till all the leaves sink. The fine green liquor is then drawn off into the heater vat, for if it remained longer in the steeper, some of the indigo would settle among the leaves and be lost. The process of manufacturing with dried leaves possesses this advantage, that a provision of



"plant may be made at the most suitable times, independently  
"of the vicissitudes of the weather, and the indigo may be more  
"uniformly made. Moreover, the fermentation process in the  
"case of the fresh leaves is here superseded by a much shorter  
"period of simple maceration. The process of obtaining the  
"indigo from the *nerium* is almost exactly the same from the  
"dried leaves as in the case of the fresh plant, but hot water is  
"generally applied to the leaves."

Monsieur Michea's chemical process of manufacturing indigo was tried in Jessore during the past season, and is said to have increased the produce about 30%.

A few particulars regarding the cultivation of indigo will not, we think, be inappropriate in this place. There are two distinct crops of indigo sown during the year. One, usually called the October plant, is sown on low land in alluvial soil, as the inundation recedes, whilst the other is sown in spring with the first showers, on high land. The former has to be cut before the plants get submerged by the annual inundation, and the latter somewhat later in the season.

The connection of Europeans with the manufacture of indigo in this country dates from 1770, or thereabouts, over a century at least, when the West Indian Trade in this commodity began to gradually fall off. The first European who appears to have interested himself in this manufacture, in Bengal at least, was, probably a Frenchman, Monsieur Louis Bonnaud, who established an indigo factory somewhere close to the French Settlement of Chandarnagar. It would be most interesting to know if the ruins of this factory still exist. In 1783 the attention of the East Indian Company was drawn to the importance of promoting the manufacture of "the blue dye." And, in 1787, we find the Company granting permission to a Mr. Robert Heaven, to proceed to India to grow indigo, as he had experience of its cultivation in the West Indies.

From Colonel Gastrell's Report, as quoted by Dr. Hunter in "The Statistical Account of Bengal," vol. II., p. 300, we observe that, the average out-turn of indigo for Jessore for a decennial period, from 1849-50 to 1858-59, was only 10,791 mds., = 7,900 cwts., the highest being in 1849-50, when it was 16,818 mds., and the lowest in 1855-56, when it was 6,885 mds. The area under indigo cultivation was estimated by Mr. Westland in 1870, as 54,000 acres, =  $84\frac{1}{2}$  square miles., and only a couple of years thereafter it fell, according to Dr. Hunter, to 31,333 acres, = 49 square miles.

Dr. Hunter says: "The price of indigo ranges from £34 10s. 0d. a hundredweight, or Rs. 230 per factory mauud of 74lbs. 10oz., which is the rate generally realized by European manufacturers, to £16. 7s. 0d. per hundredweight, or Rs. 109 per

"factory maund, the average realized for the native-made article." He adds, however: "These are the rates reported by the 'Deputy Collector,' who is, we believe, Bábu Rám Sankar Sen.

Regarding the average yield of plant per acre, we find it stated by Dr. Hunter, to be thirty-six bundles, which gives about twelve pounds of dye. "In some of the most successful factories, however, the yield is said to be as high as twenty-four pounds of dye per acre."

H. JAMES RAINEY.

**KHULNA,**  
**JESSORE.**



ART. IV.—SCIENCE AND RELIGION. (*Independent Section.*)

1.—*History of the Conflict between Religion and Science.* By John William Draper, M.D., L.L.D. H. S. King & Co., London.

2.—*History of Philosophy from Thales to the Present Time.* By Dr. Friedrich Ueberweg. Translated by Geo. S. Morris, A.M., Professor of Modern Languages in the University of Michigan. London. Hodder and Stoughton

RELIGION, it has been affirmed, springs like a perennial fount from the depth of human needs; the theological systems of each epoch are but the channels through which its waters are directed, and these succeed each other without end, like the river-beds and ocean-beds which at different times have furrowed the surface of our globe. Untrammelled by the creeds, it should be unshadowed by the superstitions of man. The growth or decadence of special phases of religious thought must thus be studied, not alone in the dogmas of the churches, in the familiar forms to which they have now been moulded, and in which they habitually present themselves to our acceptance; but, in the history of the times, to which, in each instance, their original inception is found to appertain, and to which it can ordinarily with precision be re-traced.

Few who have devoted any attention to historical precedents will, we think, be disposed to refrain from conceding that there are recurring around us, at the present moment, many of those significant signs and portents which have in all historic ages preceded and heralded important changes in religious thought. Upon every side, whether within or without the Church's pale, will be met a widespread and recognised suspension of belief; a modification, in many cases perhaps an entire abandonment, of hitherto accepted dogmas, which, though it may have originated with, is by no means now confined to, the more advanced scientific minds, having not only gained ground with, but already very extensively permeated lower strata. The exceptional facilities afforded indeed in the present age, for the rapid diffusion of thought; the vast strides in the advance of education, which have swept away the old restrictive barriers formerly limiting its expansion, have it may be said, made equally the common property of all, the far-reaching conceptions of advanced scientific intellects, which in former ages could but have remained as hoarded treasures with a gifted few. For, although the more subtle distinctions of thought, so carefully guarded in expression in the majority of the more

refined criticisms of the day, may not be patent alike to all perceptions, few, who devote attention to the subject at all, are so deficient in capacity or culture as to be incapable of grasping the salient points of controversies when they are depicted with a force and vividness of coloring which cannot fail to attract and fix all attentions,——when reiterated moreover with a frequency which must ultimately secure for them the prominence in consideration to which it is sought that they shall be elevated. In Science, in History, but more particularly in Theology, the intrepid and determined demolition of all old recognized restraints and boundaries has been followed by the loosing of floods of destructive criticism, whose torrents threaten to inundate and sweep away with them in their relentless course many of the most tenderly-cherished traditions of the past to which a large portion of the human race has now for centuries accustomed itself to cling; without however, it may perhaps be admitted, the evincing of much anxiety upon the subject of their stability. The temper of the age is in fact no longer wholly that of compromise in regard to religious thought, and although a certain section of the community might be but too willing to temporize or to “put the question by,” following a precedent which has not unfrequently ere this proved successful in such matters, the controversy would seem to have at length attained a stage, at which the certainty of impending changes, impelled by the gathering cumulative force of public opinion, must cease to be longer dubious. That the reaction which has set in will be fatal to religion, that indispensable “magistrate of man’s life,” there seems little or no cause to fear; the happiness of mankind being, as it were, inseparably connected and linked with some form of religious belief; that it must prove injurious to many of the current dogmas of the Christian Church would appear however almost inevitable.

In this view, we cannot perhaps be too frequently reminded that Religion and Christianity, though terms which are capable of being frequently made use of interchangeably, are far from being correctly regarded in consequence as absolute synonyms. That both may exist apart, and have often so existed, independently of each other, the historic records of the mental development of the human race in all times will sufficiently attest and demonstrate. In the early claims of Christianity, this fact was perhaps more patent, it was certainly more readily conceded, than in the present day. The philosophical bias of the early Fathers of the Christian Church permitted indeed a latitude in Patristic concession on this subject which has been sternly repudiated since later political developments in the position of the church. In the larger Apology of Justin Martyr we find for instance, by a happy syncretic assimilation of Christianity to the then current philo-



sophy, Christ described as "the Logos (the *reason or intelligence*)—of which all men participate; so that, affirms Justin, every one who has ever lived according to Logos (reason) was a Christian." A conception not altogether foreign to that of Coleridge's later axiom, which defines Christianity as a living process, rather than a theory or speculation. Nothing is perhaps more difficult for us to realise now than the fact that there was once a period in the world's history when Christianity itself, struggling for very existence, was regarded merely as "the latest form of infidelity" of the epoch; or when, in fact, the charge most frequently pressed against professing Christians themselves was that of atheism, an accusation Christianity has not unfrequently since employed to assail and suppress all rivals. All, observes Bacon—"that impugn a received religion or superstition, are by the adverse party branded with the name of atheists;" fortunately, as he adds, "*Ira hominis non implet Justitia Dei.*"

Persons interested in defending the cruder and expiring imaginations handed down by tradition against the last advances for the time being of a newer learning, as has been shrewdly observed by an able American writer, have almost always endeavoured (and as often as not in perfect good faith) to enlist the sympathies of the lay-people by presenting themselves as the defenders of Religion; but that is no reason why their opponents should put themselves under gratuitous difficulties and help to prejudice the reception of scientific truth by taking their word for it. The true conflict is in fact, he maintains merely between one phase of science and another; between the more crude knowledge of yesterday, and the less crude knowledge of today. "At the bottom of changing theological beliefs there lies something which men perennially value, and for the sake of which they cling to the belief as long as possible. That which they value is not itself a matter of belief, but it is a matter of conduct. It is the searching after goodness, after a higher life than the mere satisfaction of individual desires. All animals seek for fulness of life; but in civilized man this feeling has acquired a moral significance, and has become a spiritual aspiration; and this emotional tendency, more or less strong, in the human race, we call religious feeling or religion. Viewed in this light, religion is not only something that mankind is never likely to get rid of, but it is incomparably the most noble as well as the most useful attribute of humanity".

In current literature as in society there would seem, at the present moment, a determined revival of the higher or "Hellenic" form of "Paganism," a brisk renewal in fact of the old conflict waged with varying success and under a variety of diverse forms and aspects since the early centuries of the



Christian era. The currents of modern religious opinion which, according to Mr. Gladstone, have in the present day attained "a sharp and unordered motion," appear to be indeed resuming many of the older channels of philosophic thought which had long fallen into disuse; ancient Grecian courses from which the waters had long since been diverted. A tendency which has very quickly attained a somewhat formidable development has undoubtedly recently also been gaining much ground. It is one which would render the continued acceptance of the truth of the Christian creed in a great measure absolutely dependant "on its power of assimilating the doctrine of universal causation; or, to speak more precisely, of demonstrating that that doctrine is itself only a form of a yet higher and holier truth." The more advanced scientific minds of the age would indeed even dismiss, as unscientific all thoughts of an invisible Supreme Being, or would simply relegate them to the vague region of metaphysics. It being held that in the absence of the elimination of all questions regarding a Divine Nature in the consideration of the world and its phenomena, the free course of inductive reasoning is unduly impeded and restrained. Amid the bewildering mazes of theological beliefs the Churches alone have at present however the advantage which attaches to a fixed and recognised organization. If we approach the subject even from Mr. Gladstone's view of the well-defined encircling lines which can be drawn around the five great schools of modern thought, (enumerated as The Catholic, the Anglican, the Protestant-Evangelical, the Theistic, or the Negative, with again their respective subdivisions,) we shall perhaps more fully realise how completely this is still the case.

As has been justly pointed out in a recent essay with reference to this fact, it is specially important to remember, however, that adherents of the two last mentioned schools; (if schools they can be termed) consist mainly of select individuals, scattered here and there——and not of compact ecclesiastical or national communities; and (as the writer goes on to urge) it would therefore be premature to assume, that either of them, however plausible or attractive, as exemplified in individuals, would be found equal to the laborious duty of reforming or training great masses of mankind, which is after all the working test of a religious system or creed that can hold its own in the world. There can indeed be no doubt but that the solid and homogeneous organization of the churches represents an attractive force which cannot be over estimated and has as yet no equivalent in the more recently developed schools. Thus while the work of critical demolition whether attempted from the scientific or historical point of view is found to be one of no insurmountable difficulty, it is deeply felt that in the absence of some recognized nucleus of organization, the work of sound and permanent reconstruction



is far from being one which can be hastily or crudely attempted, with any immediate prospect of success or without the re-employment even if in a modified form of a large portion of the old materials of the present structures. It follows as a necessary sequence that numbers evince reluctance and hesitate ere they wholly abandon or discard their heritage from the past, built up as it has been by authority and tradition, and consolidated in centuries of experience, when science propounds for acceptance theories which would ruthlessly sweep away their last standing points; whatever the extent to which they may be prepared, perhaps reluctantly to concede that many beliefs and traditions hitherto carefully guarded and treasured may have become valueless or no longer soundly (scientifically) tenable.\* That the free intermingling of Science with Religion which is characteristic of the present age, would be productive of results adverse to the retention in their current form, of many of the hitherto accepted theological dogmas has long been foreseen. According to an aphorism, imputed to Bacon (of Verulam) "The mingling of Science with Religion can but lead to unbelief, whilst that of Religion with Science leads to extravagance."† The really formidable antagonists of Christianity in the present day are, as is at length being now recognized, the rival creeds whose true nature we fail to realize because we persist in describing them by the negative name of scepticism and unbelief; whereas they would cease to be formidable did such appellations truly represent their character or were they the mere negations we affirm, for a bare negation neither inspires enthusiasm nor wins for itself votaries.‡

\* In that remarkable work "The Unseen Universe" the somewhat arbitrary division of those who think at all upon the subject of religion is thus made:—

(a) Those who are so absolutely certain of the truth of their religion and of the immortality that it teaches that they are not qualified to entertain or even to perceive any scientific objection.

(b) Those who see strong grounds for believing in the immortality of man and the existence of an invisible world, but who at the same time are forced to acknowledge the strength of the objections urged against these doctrines by certain men of science.

(c) Those of the extreme materialistic school.

Upon this subject, however, see Mr.

Gladstone's Physical Axioms. (Article on "The Courses of Religious Thought." Contemporary Review June 1876 pp. 45 46;) which offer a far more comprehensive distribution.

† All religious controversies are therefore to be avoided as pernicious.

"Let religion," he urges, "remain untouched, but let it not (after the manner of the scholastics) be mixed with Science."

‡ This has been very ably contended in a series of articles on "Natural Religion," in *Macmillan's Magazine*, 1876.

"It is not because they think Christianity untrue that these schools attack it, but because they think it obscures the true religion in which mankind should seek its salvation. Now what are these rival religions which attack Christianity not out of



In the able work of Draper upon the "Conflict between Religion and Science," of which the title heads this article, and upon which it is proposed to offer some remarks, the implacable hostility and schism which has ever existed between Science and Religion is treated from a strictly historical point of view; and side by side the author has depicted, in an extremely lucid narrative form, the views and acts of the contending parties from early historic ages; it being his endeavour to show that the history of Science, correctly viewed is not the mere record of isolated discoveries which it is ordinarily improperly and unfairly deemed, but a narrative of the ceaseless warfare of two contending powers personified by the expansive force of the human intellect on the one side as opposed to the compression arising from traditional faith and human interests on the other. That there will be some of our readers who may possibly take exception to this purely historical method of treatment of the subject is not improbable, its approach from whatever point of view, being ordinarily somewhat jealously guarded; our remarks therefore will be rather addressed to those who may be assumed to be not unwilling to recognize in Christianity "a very complex historical fact, with a vast multiplicity of aspects." At the same time, as far as is compatible with descriptive historical accuracy, all assertions which might provoke polemic discussion or give rise to aggressive controversy will as far as practicable be studiously avoided.

mere wickedness and dulness, but with enthusiasm and confidence? We have spoken of them in this paper under the names of *Art* and *Science*, but those who have read the earlier papers of this series will remember that we thought we could discern in the whole religious history of mankind, the conflict of three forms of religion.—

There was the religion of visible things or *Paganism*, which though generally a low type of religion, yet in its classical form became the nursing mother of *Art*.

There was the religion of *Humanity* in its various forms, of which the principal was Christianity.

Lastly there was the religion of *God*; which worships a Unity conceived in one way or another as holding the universe together.

We found that these forms of religion, though theoretically distinguishable seldom appear in their distinctness, and that in particular Christia-

nity preeminently the religion of humanity is yet also a religion of Deity. Now if we apply these categories to the controversies of our own time we shall say that we see the ancient religion of humanity which has so long reigned among us under the name of Christianity assailed on the one side by the *Higher Paganism*, under the name of *Art*; and on the other side by a peculiarly severe and stern form of *Theism*, under the name of *Science*. And when we look back over the history of the Church, we see that it has always been struggling with these two rival religions, and that the only peculiarity of our age is the confident and triumphant manner in which the two enemies advance to the attack from opposite sides—\* \* However these religions may jingle amongst themselves, they are or should be united against the common foe, which is irreligion."



"The history of the world," remarks Hegel, "begins in the East, but it is only in the West that the light of self-consciousness rises. Oriental History represents the childhood of humanity. The Grecian mind corresponds to the period of youth. The Roman Empire represents the age of manhood."\* That almost every ethical conception which has ever perplexed the Western mind has been due, and may be traced in its first instance and origin to Eastern-imaginative speculation is now indeed very generally conceded; † for although the ideas of the ancients may not themselves have been productive (owing possibly to a deficiency of physical conceptions), the germs of thought, which have later with such avidity been seized upon, and fearlessly elaborated, by the occident, were undoubtedly there and were present in the earliest historic times to oriental romantic and ideal contemplation. It is in truth to the East, that cradle of philosophical inceptions, ‡ that we must turn for the earliest dawning awakening to the fact, pregnant with multifarious results of such complexity, the full purport and consequences of which upon the creeds of future generations, are possibly as yet but dimly foreshadowed, and imperfectly understood, that force is indestructible and eternal;—the theory of one energy of nature, protean, universal, pervading all things,—whilst the development of the oriental tentative studies and crude inceptions in regard to the forms and properties of matter has resulted in the West in the recognition of laws of energy and the great principle of conservation. || It may indeed be affirmed that the majority of the neoteric and more recent discoveries which have revealed

\* Hegel treats the *stadia* of religion in its historical development thus.—

*First.* The Natural religion of the Orient (in which God is conceived as natural substance.)

*Second.* The religions in which God is viewed as subject (in particular the Jewish religion or the religion of sublimity; the Greek or the religion of beauty; the Roman, or the religion of utility or adaptation).

*Third.* The Absolute religion (which recognizes God at once in his self alienation in finitude, and in his unity with the finite or his life in the recognized community or church.

† Max Muller has termed the world of India "a microcosm in itself" in regard to ethical conceptions.

‡ The reason for the Orient being

invariably the cradle of religions is found by Latze in the consideration that the Oriental eye is ever directed to the *whole*, whilst the Occident regards rather the *universal*.

|| See an able work on this subject by Balfour Stewart, M.A., LL.D. *The Conservation of Energy*. H. S. King & Co., London 1875.

The ultimate fate of the visible universe is thus treated by this author "we are led to look to a beginning in which the particles of matter were in a diffuse chaotic state but endowed with the power of gravitation, and we are led to look to an end in which the whole universe will be one equally heated inert mass, and from which everything like life or motion or beauty, will have utterly gone away."



themselves to modern scientific interrogation had to a great extent been foreshadowed or had at least been dimly if imperfectly discovered by the oriental mind long ere their revealment was ultimately achieved in the Western scientific world. The doctrines of evolution, creation, and development, which more particularly have been recently revived with assertions having at first sight all the appearance of novelty of conception, were by no means unfamiliar to the early discussions of the East; it being even contended by Draper that the present intellectual movement of Christendom in its treatment of the current controversy of the day—(that of the mode of Government of the world by the operation of primordial law,)—has but attained to the plane reached by Arabism in the tenth and eleventh centuries of our era. The advantages indeed both social and intellectual which have at different periods accrued to Europe from contact with the Eastern World have perhaps hitherto been much under-estimated and have but very recently obtained any fair meed of recognition.\*

The origin of Science may be said to be now almost unanimously placed in the East by the common consent of all who treat of the subject. In the work before us however its birthplace is yet further indicated and its inception traced to the establishment of the Alexandrian Museum—where “the genius of the East met the genius of the West,” its genesis being regarded and discussed as a direct consequence of the Macedonian campaigns which brought Asia and Europe into contact. It has been observed by Ueberweg with perspicuous discernment that philosophy as Science could originate neither among the peoples of the north, who were eminent for strength and courage, but devoid of culture, nor among the orientals, who, though susceptible of the element of higher culture, were content simply to retain them in a spirit of passive resignation, but only among the Hellenes, who harmoniously combined the characteristics of both. The Romans devoted to practical and particularly to political problems scarcely occupied themselves with philosophy except in the appropriation of Hellenic ideas, and scarcely attained to any productive originality of their own.† The epoch of the introduction of Deities into the religion

\* The rudeness of Europe was softened by contact with oriental refinement. Language was enriched by many new words from a pure, flexible and copious tongue in whose accents alone lived poetry and learning. From the Arabs, Europe obtained the arabesque style of architecture and ornamentation; the long lost treasures of classical literature, comprising the history, poetry, and

philosophy of Greece and Rome; together with astronomy, astrology, chemistry, the arabic numerals and algebra. See “The Growth and Vicissitudes of Commerce, From 1500 B. C. to A. D. 1789. By John Yeats, LL.D. &c., London. Virtue & Co., 1872.

† “To what extent the genesis of Greek philosophy was effected by oriental influences is a problem



of Greece though a much disputed point is by many ascribed to the age of Homer, "the father of poetical diction," the first who taught the "language of the gods" to men. If, urges Pope, Homer was not the first who introduced the Deities (as Herodotus imagines) into the religion of Greece, he seems the first who brought them into a system of machinery for poetry, and such a one as makes its greatest importance and dignity \* \* \* and after all the changes of times and religions his gods continue to this day the gods of poetry.\* To the ancient Greek philosophers is however in any case due the earliest precision of thought in the personification of abstractions, which would allow of their more general and familiar recognition. To ideal conceptions "a form and body" was first given, a stage in progressive advance unattainable by races of lower culture. The recognition of the immaterial was, it has been affirmed by Bain, indeed wholly beyond the comprehension of the latter; and was scarcely an attainable phase of thought "until Greek philosophy taught the world how to use and abuse abstract notions." Thus the Alexandrian Museum, aided and fostered by royal patronage, with its 14,000 students of all nations, although, perhaps scarcely correctly to be regarded as the actual birth-place of science, became, it may be conceded at least, a great attractive focus and point of convergence and concentration of all the learning of the age. Nor was this all; for its action was undoubtedly equally that of a great dissipating and radiating centre from which culture and knowledge were again diffused and disseminated throughout all parts of the known world. The conquest by Alexander, of Asia, of Syria, of Cyprus and Egypt, the march of the Macedonian Army from the Danube to the Nile, from the Nile to the Ganges, had necessarily powerfully affected the speculative temperament of the Greeks in bringing them in immediate contact not only with various and diverse aspects of nature but with the ancient religious faiths then current in the East

whose definite solution can only be anticipated as the result of the farther progress of oriental and particularly of Egyptological investigations. It is certain however that the Greeks did not meet with fully developed and completed philosophical systems among the orientals. The only question can be, whether, and in what measure, oriental religious ideas occasioned in the speculation of Grecian thinkers (especially on the subject of God and the human soul,) a deviation from the national type of Hellenic culture and gave it its direction toward the

invisible, the inexperimental, the transcendent, a movement which culminated in Pythagoreanism and Platonism." *Ueberweg's History of Philosophy.* Vol 1 p. 31.

\* Herodotus actually says, (II. 53) "Homer and Hesiod framed the Theogony of the Hellenes; but the poets, who are believed to have lived before them, in my opinion were their successors." In II. 81 (cf. 123) Herodotus declares the so-called Orphic and Bacchic doctrines to be Egyptian and Pythagorean.—*I bid.* Vol. 1. p. 25.



and in no measured degree an exceptional and important widening of the field of intellectual speculative thought must have resulted. Egypt, at the time of its conquest by Alexander, a mere satrapy of Persia, had already attained to high intellectual development and culture, with richly endowed temples and a sacerdotal class in possession of the literature and learning of the race. The religious ideas of Egypt, one of the two great countries of the world which has performed so important a part in the religious history of the East,\* were still however associated with the worship of the sun with whom all the principal deities were connected. That this Macedonian campaign induced the earliest adjunction of Grecian with Egyptian thought seems however improbable; for Greek mercenaries are said to have been employed in the Egyptian Army by *Psammetichus* (who ruled over Egypt B.C. 617-671)—whose grandson *Amasis* (as early as 526 B.C.) not only permitted the Greeks to erect temples and warehouses in Egypt but had opened up to them the passage of the Nile.† The travels of *Pythagoras* in Egypt are also variously affirmed, whilst the doctrine of metempsychosis and certain religious regulations of the *Orphists* and *Pythagoreans* are ascribed as early as *Herodotus* (11-81 and 123) to Egyptian inception and origin. Whilst, however, it is denied by *Ueberweg* that the Egyptian mythology in any way influenced Grecian thought, he would claim for the Greeks that they had on their part considerably influenced the astronomical and geological observations and speculations of the Egyptians ‡ In Persia the religious belief of the time was *Magianism* still essentially a worship of the elements, a faith which had supplanted *Dualism*, itself the successor of the monotheistic teaching of *Zoroaster*.|| The Indian campaigns

\* "The Egyptians possessed an extensive literature, the invention of the art of writing being due to them. By means of the hieroglyphic or direct representation of celestial, terrestrial or other objects, they expressed sounds or ideas, and by the union of the two their language \*\*\* the principal works, in the literature were religious \*\*\* hymns to different gods; ethical treatises on morals and others on rhetoric. In medicine, chiefly of an empirical nature and much mixed up with charms and adjurations, several treatises ascribed to the oldest dynasties are known, others of Geometry Mensuration and Arithmetic are also extant."—*Egypt from the earliest times to 300 B.C.* By S. Birch. L.L.D.

† *Yeats' "Growth and Vicissitudes of Commerce."*

‡ He asserts that certain Geometrical problems seem rather to have been merely empirically discovered by the Egyptians in the measurement of their fields, than scientifically demonstrated by them; and that the discovery of the proofs, and the creation of a system of Geometry, must be considered to have been the works of the Greeks. — "*History of Philosophy.*"

|| The religious views of *Zoroaster* represent the reaction of the mind against mere nature worship, tending as this does, (says *Vaux*) directly to Polytheism and to the doctrine of "Emanations."



of Alexander, marked by a relentless slaughter of unresisting populations, had brought the conquerors in immediate apposition also with the oldest and most primitive forms of the *Aryan* faith. In the canonical books of the three principal religions of the ancient *Aryan* world, and in the Veda of the Brahmans, in the *Zend-Avesta* of the *Zoroastrians* and the *Tripitaka* of the Buddhists can be traced, as is affirmed, by Max Müller, the real origin of the Greek and Roman, (and likewise of Teutonic, Slavonic and Celtic) mythology.

The Græco-Macedonian Empire, which had thus been extended over all Asia, from the shores of the Mediterranean to India, was not destined to long retain its pre-eminence; and the loss of the master-mind of Alexander, which had alone held it together, was followed after his death by the dismemberment of the Empire and its partition into four great kingdoms under the Macedonian generals. A division of momentous import to science, as it afforded to Ptolemy Soter the opportunity, in founding the Alexandrian museum, of constituting his new capital the intellectual metropolis of the world. Not only however had the site of the city been previously determined by Alexander, (its foundation had been laid on the occasion of his visit to the oasis and temple of Jupiter Ammon) but with his usual forethought, provision had acutully been made for its population in the deportation for the purpose of large numbers of Jews from Palestine, a course subsequently followed by both Ptolemy Soter and his son Philadelphus, the former of whom is said to have transferred no less than 100,000 after the siege of Jerusalem, whilst the latter redeemed 198,000 more from slavery with the Egyptians. Multitudes of Greeks had also sought refuge in Egypt, to which country Jews and Syrians were much encouraged to emigrate, and these component elements of the Alexandrian population each necessarily exercised no mean influence in moulding the forms and direction of later philosophic thought. As Draper specially points out—The population of Alexandria was mainly thus composed of three elements. 1 Native Egyptians. 2 Greeks. 3 Jews. The last a fact which has left its impress on the religious faith of modern Europe. The Jewish monotheism became indeed no unimportant factor in the evolution of later Greek philosophy, when Jews, through the reception of elements of Greek culture, had acquired a disposition

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“Such views he adds embody the highest struggle of the human intellect (unaided by Revelation) towards spiritualism and are so far an attempt to create a religious system by the simple energies of human reason. Hence their general direction is towards a pure monotheism.—*Ancient History from the monuments. Persia.* W. S. W. Vaux, M.A. F.R.S. &c.

for scientific thought.\* The intellectual acumen of the Greek philosophers, forcibly incited and stimulated no doubt by contact with oriental nations and modes of thought; the insatiable curiosity of minds capable of applying sublimation of conception to the older and grosser materialistic theories, influenced and aided by new physical speculations led to an advance to a classification of the great elements, and mainly assisted to distinguish and develop the conception of their several characteristics. From the "Shadow" of the archaic thinker, to the Air and Fire of the Grecian sage, was no mean stride in sublimation of conception.† The materialistic idea of the vital spirit or soul of the Iliad, had undergone considerable modification ere in Plato and Aristotle it could attain the dawning recognition of immateriality.\*\* So marked indeed had been the advance, that around the systems of the two philosophers whom we have named, it has been somewhat broadly affirmed, may be still to the present day correctly grouped all subsequent philosophy, ranging from Plato to Hamilton on the one side and from Aristotle to Comte on the other:—Aristotle on the one hand affirming that "the search for causes is a mere attempt of the understanding to put into simple form the facts of the senses;" as opposed to which view, on the other hand, Plato as stoutly maintains that "from the very ideas which are inseparable from the thinking substance, we believe in causation and in a first cause." Plato's theory of the soul is in fact credited by Bain as being one of the influences mainly determining the modern settlement of the question; whilst to Aristotle, alike "a devotee to facts and a master of the highest abstractions," he considers due the inception of many of the more subtle distinctions which have ever since permeated human thought. So much will no doubt be conceded, that whatever the changes may have been in the aspects from which the solution of the problems which perplexed these old Greek philosophers are now regarded, the questions themselves remain vitally ever the same;—their accurate

\* Speaking of a somewhat later period, Ueberweg remarks as follows "The Hellenic mode of thought was blended with the Oriental and the representatives of philosophy (now become Theosophy) were either Jews under Hellenic influence, Egyptians and other Orientals, or men Hellenic in race who were deeply impregnated with orientalism."—Ueberweg. Vol. 1, p. 27 *et seq.*

† There is an excellent chapter on this subject in a little volume entitled "Mind and Body: The Theories of their relation." By Alex. Bain, L. L. D.

H. S. King & Co., London, 1874.

Compare—

"The vital spirit issued at the wound.  
And left the member quivering on the ground.  
and again—

The nerves unbraced support his limbs no more  
The soul comes floating in a tide of gore

In the wound of the goddess Venus  
we have a foreshadowing of the later  
advances in anthropomorphic mythology.

From the clear vein a stream immortal flow'd  
Such stream as issues from a wounded God  
Pure emanation. Uncorrupted flood,  
Unlike our gross diseased terrestrial blood."

POPE'S TRANSLATION.



solution being perhaps as distant then as now for though, as has been urged, in all philosophical problems the ever recurring advancements of new positions may intervene to preclude the discussion and treatment of the subject-matter from the precise phase of view from which, up to a certain stage of knowledge, it may (correctly) have been approached, the core of the problem is yet ever the same, it being merely the method of attempted solution which is altered owing to an advance of thought permitting access to it from a new aspect and through avenues of approach—the concession of passage by which would perhaps earlier have been regarded as inadmissible. As Draper justly observes, in the pre-Christian era as now, we have dealt and ever dealt only with the same old queries—“What is God? What is the soul? What is the world? How is it governed? Have we any standard or criterion of truth?”

The frequent and periodic discoveries of new forms or combinations, of new powers or properties of matter, now so often and so triumphantly proclaimed, cannot but be recognized as in a great measure the result of the direction given to the mind at this period of the world's history; and in this view, undoubtedly, there are therefore efficient grounds for the theory adduced by Draper, and for ascribing the origin of science to the impetus and direction given to scientific research by the Alexandrian Museum. That at least it bequeathed to all after-ages a vast groundwork and nucleus of farther investigation will not admit of denial. Each succeeding generation has, it may be alleged, this advantage over that by which it has been immediately preceded, in that something has in the meantime been added to the vast store of cumulative experience and knowledge which ever forms in each century a new starting-point of further investigations. Nor could in fact the progressive superstructure of the advance have attained to its present proportions and development had not the original foundations, the legacy of the past, been laid in sound and accurate data. Tested as so much has been by the thoughtful general acceptance of scientific minds during successive ages, and supported by facts of which protracted and cumulative experience have uniformly demonstrated the accuracy and value, we are at length being slowly brought to recognize and admit, that not only is their basis of sufficient breadth to support reliable inductions, but that a further advance may now safely be made towards wider and more comprehensive principles and inferences than have hitherto been permissible. We now stand, as it were, at a higher elevation: upon a structure reared on centuries of successive toil by preceding ages, and our range of vision, has, in consequence, proportionately widened. Our horizon in the current nineteenth century has in fact ceased to be that which bounded the views of the ancient Greek philosophers, for it is now clear that we



have not wholly abandoned or lost our heritage from the past but that we shall yet be enabled to retain much of what Carlyle has termed "The beautiful, the religious wisdom, which may still, with something of its old impressiveness, speak to the whole soul; still in these hard, unbelieving, utilitarian days, reveal to us glimpses of the unseen but not unreal world, that so, the actual and the ideal may again meet together, and clear knowledge be again wedded to religion in the life and business of men."

A wholly new element was however to be introduced to the world through the medium, and in the garb of Christianity. It has been justly remarked by Burke that before the Christian religion had, as it were, *humanised* the idea of the Divinity and brought it somewhat nearer to us, there was very little said of the *love* of God. The followers of Plato had, he observes, something of it and only something; the other writers of pagan antiquity, whether poets or philosophers—nothing at all.\* In pre-Christian times when men were herded by laws within the enclosure of a national ritual, the fears and hopes of superstition were alone all powerful. As has been accurately pointed out in a recent essay; we, a nation bred in the Protestant faith, are accustomed to take much too seriously the religion of the Greeks, a religion which strangely enough had not even a distinctive name. "It was quite impossible and we may assume quite unnecessary for people to *love*, or in any true sense of the word, to reverence Zeus, Here, Poseidon or Aphrodite. . . . Aphrodite and other beautiful forms partly personified the power of nature, partly were a sort of deputies, as we ourselves are over slaves or animals, perhaps bound by some laws perhaps not; but behind them dreaded then by all as by millions to-day was *Fate*; perhaps omniscient, perhaps blind, perhaps benevolent, perhaps passionless; at all events unchanging, mysterious, for ever unfathomed." Even Zeus himself, says Æschylus, cannot escape the decrees of fate. The essentially Christian principle of individual faith, as of profession or enquiry, was almost unknown prior to the Christian era; the rights of conscience were were neither recognized nor understood. Greek legislators with the view of securing to the republic the greatest military force by means of the most complete social unity, had prohibited, with the sternest despotism, dissent from the popular superstitions,

\* He adds—"Those who consider with what infinite attention, by what a disregard of every perishable object, through what long habits of piety and contemplation it is, that any man is able to attain an entire love and devotion to the Deity, will easily perceive that it is not the first, the more natural and the more

striking effect which proceeds from that idea.—*A Treatise on "The sublime and Beautiful."*—By the Rt. Hon. Burke.

Longfellow also has beautifully expressed this idea;—When the heart goes before like a lamp, and illumines the pathway, many things are made clear that else lie hidden in darkness



disbelief in which constituted an offence against the State. The social tranquillity of the latter was considered as indissolubly bound up with uniformity of religious professions; and while Draco punished dissent with death, Plato would have denounced it to the Magistrate as a crime.\* In Rome also this important despotic power was equally conserved by the State, of declaring what forms of religion were permitted by the law (*licitæ*)! though such authority was rarely exercised with rigour excepting against such foreign superstitions as were considered pernicious to the morals of the people.† In the Eastern, as in the Western world the deities were still merely all puissant and dreaded beings called gods, whom it was necessary to propitiate with various rites and ceremonies. Able to inflict upon human beings at their capricious pleasure the greatest evils, which could neither be averted nor foreseen, what wonder that these hostile and malificent powers were dreaded with an awe inseparable from the contemplation of the idea of such illimitable power. It almost necessarily ensued upon such a conception of their connection with power, that its absence should equally induce contempt, "the attendant on a strength that is subservient and innoxious." Faith in a national God was scarcely capable of being long sustained in the visible degradation witnessed, of the destruction of his temples by the aid of the more powerful tutelar divinity of a triumphant and subduing race. Nor was this all; for as the acceptation of the actual truth in regard to one visible universe became more general, and demonstrated the fallacy of the belief in the canopy above being the almost visible Olympus of the gods, for which it had too credulously been accepted, the gods themselves at length suffered in being contemptuously dismissed; both "those of the Ionian type of Homer and those of the Doric of Hesiod, vanishing with their habitation" of which in the popular belief they shared the fate. Such fate was, however, by no means a sudden or unanticipated destiny. It had long been foreseen by the more advanced minds, and the growth of public scepticism had advanced through many stages of decadence ere it ultimately resulted in the entire rejection

\* We are apt to overlook the fact that at the period of the first introduction of Christianity itself to the world, it could but be regarded as "the latest form of infidelity." *Theism, Atheism and the popular Theology*.—By Theodore Parker. Trübner and Co., London, 1874.

Aristotle allowed but one established worship; and Socrates was sentenced to death for independence of religious conviction.

On this subject, see an Essay on *The Union of Church and State*. Wriothsley Noel, M.A.

† Cicero shews this in his Book of Laws. The rites considered obnoxious were, in earlier times, the *Dionysiac*, in later the *Isiac and Serapic*.—*History of Christianity*. H. H. Milman. John Murray, London 1867.



of the ancient mythological traditions. "Not he is godless who rejects the Gods of the crowd, but rather he who accepts them" affirmed Epicurus, whilst two centuries later his follower Lucretius had advanced yet further when he boldly affirms that with correct apprehension—"Nature free at once, and rid of her haughty lords, is seen to do all things spontaneously of herself without the meddling of the Gods."

We must advance however to the Christian era. The religions of the ancient world were, at this period of its history, effete and slowly dying out, even in popular observance. Rome, the gate-keeper of the world, was at the zenith of her power. In this, the Augustan age, her empire circled the Mediterranean and extended from the Atlantic to the Euphrates. The divinities of the numerous conquered nations, had been collected in the Pantheon of the imperial city. Carthage, Greece, Spain, the islands of the Mediterranean, Syria, Gaul, Egypt, all had successively succumbed to the might of the Roman power, and were mere provinces of that vast empire. Yet as with Corinth, Athens, Carthage, Alexandria, Thebes, Memphis, Meroë, Tyre, Palmyra, Babylon and Nineveh, whose fall had preceded hers, a false sense of security resulting from military success and licentious profusion was already at work undermining the stability of the empire.\* In the progress of knowledge a death blow had already been dealt to the popular religions both of Greece and Rome; the process of humanizing the deity which allowed divine honors to be paid first to deceased Emperors, but at length to the living also, could but bring with it the contempt for deities bred of familiarity, and fatal to prolonged respect. This deification of the living Emperor or the apotheosis of the dead, indeed, tended in the opinion of Dean Milman more than any other existing rite to enfeeble all religious feelings. The moral effect was simply incompatible with the retention of hitherto current religious belief. As Draper justly remarks, it was not so much therefore the importation of Greek scepticism which made Rome sceptical, but the excesses of religion itself which must be credited with the sapping of the very foundations of faith. Religion had become a mere husk, a shell without a kernel; old moral rules had lost their fixity and their sanctions. The reaction which had set in, first of dissatisfaction, then of denial, and later of aggression on existing things, the vague desires and longings for something higher, purer, better, were of themselves incapable of forming the basis or ground-work of a stable and permanent faith. Such cannot indeed be thus suddenly evoked or called into existence at pleasure; it requires not only the support of a positive and earnest creed, but a recognised or-

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\* Yeats.



ganisation and hierarchy. In the absence of a settled and definite system, without acknowledged chiefs, without even a fixed creed, without belief, without authority, permanent stability would indeed seem unattainable. Whatever the ground gained by philosophy in inculcating a purer and loftier morality, in religion it was without recognised and acknowledged authority. It could demolish and destroy, but was as yet incapable of reconstructing, and the bewilderment resulting from the variety of conflicting and unsettled opinions necessarily rendered inoperative, the attempted absorption of the masses of the population in, or their attachment to, any particular school. They were thus therefore not only without any recognised leaders around whom they could confidently rally, but it may almost be said without a faith in which continuance in belief remained possible. In this morning of civilisation the mental development was struggling earnestly to keep pace with the progressive advance from childhood of the human race. The whole Roman Empire was undoubtedly at a stage, and in a condition, both from its political organisation and from the absence of all accredited forms of worship, singularly favorable to the reception of a new creed, of a doctrine and an organisation such as that offered by the Christian Church. The minds of the masses had advanced beyond the old ancestral poetic faith, they were yet unripe for the reception of Philosophy. There was a nebulous desire for a complete severance from a past, a sense of unrest, of dissatisfaction, yet still more of expectation, until at length the vacuum was to a certain extent filled by the organisation of the Christian Church—and the recognition of the national exchange of Polytheism for Monotheism. In the words of Dean Milman the unity of Deity becomes (at the commencement of this new era) not the high and mysterious creed of a privileged and sacerdotal or intellectual oligarchy, but the common property of all\* whose minds are fitted to receive it. All religious distinctions are annihilated; the jurisdictions of all local deities abolished; and imperceptibly the Empire of Rome becomes one great Christian common-wealth, which even sends out, as it were, its principal colonies into regions beyond the limits of the Imperial power. The characteristic distinction of the general revolution is this, that the *physical* agency of the Deity seems to recede from the view, while the *spiritual* character is more distinctly unfolded; or rather the notion of the Divine *power* is merged in the more prevailing

\* We are reminded of the beautiful expression of this fact, in Tennyson's poem, "In Memoriam."

Tho' truths in manhood darkly join  
Deep-seated in our mystic frame,  
We yield all blessing to the name  
Of Him that made them current coin.



sentiment of his moral *goodness* \* \* the great primary principles which became incorporated with the mind of man ; and operating on all human institutions on the common sentiments of the whole race, from the great distinctive difference between the ancient and the modern, the European and the Asiatic world.

The connection of the Founder of Christianity with the rise and spread of the Christian faith is treated by Draper in a somewhat parenthetical manner ; which however since the appearance of the works of Strauss\* and of Renan † has become familiar to us in the purely historic mode of treatment of the subject of Christianity, the doctrines inculcated by which are regarded mainly as consequent on, or in harmony with, that sentiment of universal brotherhood arising from the coalescence of the conquered kingdoms. It is not, however, within our province or intent in this article to touch upon the subject of the original of Christianity ; nor our purpose to join issue with those who regard its rise rather as a gradual self-development of the human mind, than as a direct supernatural communication and revelation from God to man, to which in the Calvinistic system it has been gradually narrowed down ; ‡ and we shall rapidly pass on to the more advanced stage of its political development and organization when Constantine, the first Christian Emperor had ascended the throne of the Cæsars. Our space, however, necessarily compels the limitation of our remarks to a very superficial and cursory examination of each period of the Church's history reviewed in the work before us ; and it will but be possible—

To follow the wanderer's footsteps  
Not through each devious path, each changeful year of existence  
But as a traveller follows a streamlet's course through the valley ;  
Far from its margin at times, and seeing the gleam of its water  
Here and there, in some open space, and at intervals only,  
Then drawing nearer its banks, through sylvan glooms that conceal it  
Though he behold it not, he can hear its continuous murmur,  
Happy at length if he find the spot where it reaches an outlet.

To the time of Constantine no less than ten remarkable persecutions are narrated as having occurred, under the Emperors Nero, Domitian, Trajan and Adrian, Lucius Verus, Septimius

\* *Das Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk.* Leipsic 1864 Of the revised edition an authorised translation (*New Life of Jesus*) was published in London in 1865.

† Renan's *Life of Jesus*.

‡ See an interesting article on this subject, *Saturday Review*, 29th April 1876. "The rationale of miracles."

"We must look at Revelation not as a system of doctrines contained

in an inspired book, but as a series of complex historical facts" April 1876 *Church Quarterly Review*.

According to Pascal, "There are three means of believing ; by inspiration, by reason and by habit. Christianity, (which is the only rational religion) acknowledges none for its true sons but those who believe by inspiration."—"Thoughts on Religion." Braise Pascal.



Severus, Maximin, Decius, Valerian, Aurelian and Diocletian respectively.\* As has been before observed, dissent from the popular superstitions was alone sufficient to mark the dissentient as a bad citizen, an enemy to the State; and as a necessary consequence it followed that the motives of persecution were in almost every instance political rather than religious. The refusal to sacrifice to the national gods, the want of loyalty evinced in failing to offer incense to the statues of deceased emperors, became of themselves State crimes indicative of disaffection, possibly boding contemplated insurrection against the recognized Government, which but became more seriously aggravated and threatening as the extent of the revolution became apparent and ultimately led to resort to wholesale capital punishment. The fall of the holy city of Jerusalem and the destruction of the sacred Temple despite all efforts of Titus to save it, which had given a death-blow to further temporal hopes and expectations of the Jews, in no measured degree influenced their ultimate acceptance in large numbers of Christ as the Messiah whom they had at first declined to recognize or receive.† Nor was this all; the spirit of proselytism which Christianity engendered, animated its neophytes with an enthusiasm and zeal for its propagation, which inspired and reached even the meanest catechumen. "We were called," exclaims Tertullian (*Ad. Martyr.*, c. iii.) "to be soldiers of the living God from the moment that we responded to the baptismal words." The baptism being in fact regarded much as the military oath of the Roman legionaries by which its recipient

\* See on this subject *Supernatural Religion*. Vol. 1., p. 196. According to the testimony of Eusebius in the Diocletian persecution at the beginning of the 4th Century, the number of those who were beheaded in Egypt (where the Christian education of the people had been fostered by the translation of the new testament in the vernacular Coptic) for the profession of Christianity (A. D. 308) amounted to 140,000; whilst there perished in prisons, in banishment and in severe slavery 700,000 more. "History of the Church." From the German of Rev. C. G. Barth. M. A. Moett; Wirtemberg 1839.

"Persecution," remarks a French writer "has this peculiarity, that where it does not revolt, it is because there it was unnecessary; the people who endure it were not worth the dreading. Wherever it is necessary,

it revolts, and there becomes useless. Constant. *Melanges de Litterature* p. 309.

† In this consisted the whole of the earlier test of the acceptance of Christianity. The admission of belief that Jesus was the Christ, the *Messiah*, the promised Saviour of the world being all that was required for baptism. Milman, p.p. 18-19.

"With a large portion of mankind," remarks Dean Milman, "the religion (Christianity) itself was paganism under another form, and with different appellations; with another part, it was the religion passively received without any change in the moral sentiments or habits; with a third, and perhaps the more considerable part, there was the transfer of the passions and the intellectual activity to a new cause.—*History of Christianity*, vol. 2, p. 408.



not only enrolled himself under a distinct banner, but pledged himself to a recognized leader. The new opinions had, however, ere this taken far too deep a root to be extirpated by persecution, a fact at length wisely recognized by Constantine, who determined upon their adaptation and recognition in the exigencies of the situation as a means to the furtherance of his own ends. As a necessary consequence, however, Christianity under the protection of Constantine, whose motives were probably other than purely religious ones, developed many features and doctrines unknown during the earlier persecutions of Severus. Two causes in fact, in the opinion of Draper, now led to the debasement of the religion, in the incorporation of Christianity with paganism, which took place at this period. First, the political necessities of the new dynasty. Second, the policy adopted by the religion itself to secure its spread.

Paganism was modified by Christianity; Christianity by paganism. \* While Paganism however leaned for support on the learning of its philosophers, Christianity refused to rest otherwise than on the inspiration of its fathers. The clergy, in whose support the temporal power was arrayed by the Emperor, would brook no intellectual competition. It was thus that there came into prominence what were termed sacred and profane knowledge: thus there first came into presence of each other, remarks Draper, two opposing parties, one relying on human reason as its guide, —the other on revelation. Christianity from a religion had now developed into an organized political system, under the countenance, the sanction, and at length the power of the Roman Empire. Assuming the lost or abdicated sovereignty, it compressed the whole, says Dean Milman, into one system under a spiritual dominion. The Papal, after some interval of disorganization, succeeded the Imperial autocracy over the European world.

Up to this period, however, although the whole Christian system was still comprised in a few simple precepts and propositions, readily comprehended by all, efforts had already been made to render or reconcile its doctrines in more apparent harmony with the teachings and decisions of philosophy. Nor was this strange.

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\* The conflict of Christianity with Judaism was, remarks Dean Milman, speaking of an earlier period, a civil war; that with Paganism the invasion and conquest of a foreign territory . . . . When Christianity was in the ascendant, it might expel the deities of Paganism from some of the splendid temples, and convert them to its own use; though insensibly many of the usages of the

Heathen worship crept into the more gorgeous and imposing ceremonies of triumphant Christianity, though even many of the vulgar superstitions incorporated themselves with the sacred Christian associations, all this reaction was long subsequent to the permanent establishment of the new religion.—History of Christianity,—vol. 1., p. 425.



Many of the early fathers had themselves been pagan philosophers before they were Christians; and would necessarily bring with them into Christianity some of the philosophical tenets and contentions of their particular sects.\* In such portions of their works as are still extant we have ample evidence of this fact, and these serve as fair specimens of the ground taken by the fathers generally for the existence and views of Christianity in their controversies with learned pagans of the day. One interesting extract, from the larger Apology of Justin Martyr, who had passed through the study of Stoic, Peripatetic, Pythagorean and Platonic philosophy before embracing Christianity, may be quoted in extenso—a portion of it having already been given.

“Why are Christians condemned merely for their name without inquiry whether they are malefactors? Let *this* be investigated: then punish the guilty, and let the innocent go free. The Christians are accused of *atheism*; but unjustly. They worship God the Father, the Son, and the prophetic or divine Spirit. They offer indeed no sacrifices, but they believe God requires none. Christians are ridiculed for expecting a kingdom of Christ, but unjustly. The kingdom which they expect is not an earthly kingdom; if it *were*, how could they cheerfully meet death? Christianity is not so totally unlike everything believed by the pagans. The pagans expect a judgment after death, so do the Christians. The former make *Rhadamanthus* the Judge, the latter *Jesus Christ*. The pagans believe that many men were sons of *Jupiter*; Christians believe that *Jesus* was the Son of *God*. The pagans assert that *Æsculapius* healed the sick in a wonderful manner: Christians assert the same of *Christ*, &c. The ground of this correspondence lies in this, that the demons, who are the authors of the pagan religions, and to whom the pagan worship is paid, copied beforehand the history of Christ in order to prejudice the truth. Yet they omitted to copy the *Cross* which is the appropriate sign of the power of Christ (and therefore it is found indispensable in nature, *e. g.*, in the yards of a ship). Also by the ascent of *Simon Magus* to heaven, they sought to imitate the ascension of *Christ*, and since the Romans themselves have erected a statue to this *Simon* as a God, they should the more readily do the same to *Christ*. Christianity is *true*. This is demonstrable from the prophecies of the Old Testament, also the prophecies of *Christ* concerning his ascension to heaven, and the destruction of Jerusalem, which have been fulfilled and prove the truth of Christianity. *Christ* is the *Logos* (the *reason* or *intelligence*) of which all men participate: so that every one who had ever lived according to *Logos* (*reason*) was a Christian. The demons whose worship is prostrated by Christianity are the authors of the persecutions against Christians.†”

Upon that much vexed question, the nature of the Christianity personally professed by Constantine, it is not possible that we

\* See Bain's *Mind and Body* quoted ante.

The early fathers accepted Oriental and Greek notions of transigrations and pre-existence; or (like Irenæus and Arnobius) made the immortality of the soul depend upon the will of God in his purposes for

the salvation of *part* of mankind. Both both theories describe in nearly the same terms the essence of Deity and the essence of the Soul.

† This summary is quoted from Mosheim's *Institutes of Ecclesiastical History, Ancient and Modern*. Translator J. Murdock. D.D. vol. 1., p. 119.



should enter here. That the earlier laws merely recognized Christianity as one of the legal forms by which the Divinity may be worshipped,\* is a point, however, upon which all authorities of any value are apparently now agreed. The syncretistic policy pursued, indeed, but recognised alike the paganism and Christianity of the age; and Constantine, the restorer of pagan temples as of Christian shrines, was at the same time both Pontifex Maximus to the pagans and the recognised supreme head of the Christian Church to the Christians. In the meantime, however, the doctrines of the Church were being gradually elaborated in the course of the strife persistently maintained by its adherents. The Alexandrian philosophy, which had emerged from the contact of Judaism with Hellenic culture, had paved the way for the destruction of the barriers which restricted the moral and religious life of the people and; Christianity had completed the work.† There was indeed an intimate and continuing connection between them which is easily traceable in the Patristic philosophy of the early heads of the Christian Church. It was reserved, however, to the Council of Nice to give the earliest affirmative expression of ecclesiastical sanction to fundamental dogmas of the creed, the various dissenting opinions in regard to which were already distracting the Church. The aid of the civil power was at last thus invoked by Christianity to enforce its dictates. Pious enthusiasm could at length not only shape and expand, but enforce acceptance of its dogmas at will. Alexandria was destined to be the scene of the first open struggle; though the internecine conflicts which had preceded had already torn and dismembered the Church into

\* Speaking of the Decree of Milan A.D. 313, issued in the joint names of Constantine and Licinius, Dean Milman remarks:—

“This *divinitas*, I conceive, was that equivocal term for the Supreme Deity admitted by the Pagan as well as the Christian.—Vol. 2, note p. 90.

† “Monotheism as a world-religion” (remarks Ueberweg) could only go forth from Judaism. The triumph of Christianity was the triumph over polytheism, of the religious idea of the Jewish people, stripped of its national limitations and softened and spiritualized. This triumph was completely analogous to that won by the Hellenic language, and by Hellenic art and science, in the kingdoms founded by Alexander the Great and afterwards reduced

under Roman supremacy; only that the struggle in the field of religion was all the more severe and wearisome, as the elements of permanent waste which were contained in the Polytheistic religions were more numerous. When national exclusiveness had once given way to the active commerce of nations and to the unity of the world-empire, it was necessary that in place of a plurality of forms of culture existing side by side, one of them should gradually become dominant, which was the strongest, most elevated or most developed. In other words, that Greek language, art and science, Roman law, (and also for the West, the Roman language) and either Græco-Roman or the (universalized, denationalized) Jewish religion should become predominant.



sects and factions almost innumerable. In the East, Draper justly observes, religious disputations have almost always turned on diversities of opinion respecting the nature and attributes of God; in the West, on the relations and life of man. There were at this period sufficient subjects of strife. Fierce quarrels had arisen not only respecting the Trinity but regarding the essence of God, the position of the Son, the nature of the Holy Spirit, and the influence of the Virgin Mary. The Bishop of Alexandria in treating of the doctrine of the Trinity had asserted the inseparable *Unity of Substance* ("being of one substance with the Father—") an assertion which had afforded to Arius, a priest of that city, the opportunity of charging him with Sabellianism. The anathema pronounced against Arius by the Nicene Council (A. D. 325,) was duly confirmed by the Emperor, and followed by a sentence excluding the former with all his adherents from all civil as well as ecclesiastical rights, and condemning him to banishment.\* Had Arianism then prevailed, it is not improbable that all doctrines based upon the Divinity of Christ might virtually have been eliminated from the Christian religion, and Christianity itself would at this early period of its history, have been reduced to a system whose highest claims on our respect would have been derived from the purer ethics, the more elevated theosophy, or the more spiritual worship which it inculcates as compared with the more ancient religions by which it had been preceded,† and which it was destined to supersede. To this period, it would appear, may be correctly assigned the concentration of interest upon theology. To the fervid imagination of the East is due the incorporation of the intricate systems of dogma and mysticism with the purer morality

\* Broughton remarks however as follows:—Arianism did not die with its originator. His party continued still in great credit at court. Athanasius was indeed recalled, and re-instated in his see; but he was soon removed again, the imperial power making and deposing bishops at will. In short, this denomination continued with great lustre for 300 years. It was the reigning religion of Spain for above two centuries; it was on the throne both in the East and West, it prevailed in Italy, France, Pannonia, and Africa; and was not extirpated till about the end of the eighth century.—(*Broughton, Dictionary.*)

Arianism directly opposed the Trinitarian doctrine as contained in the Athanasian creed, viz, that a

divine nature, or a divine person was so united to the human body and soul of Jesus, as to form one person who is both God and man. It was equally opposed to the Sabellian doctrine, which went to affirm that Christ is *in all respects the same as the Father*, only under a *different name* or that the Father, Son and Holy Ghost are different names for the same being, the only living and true God; and to the modern Socinian, or Socinian-Unitarian view that Jesus of Nazareth is a *proper human being*, but the greatest of all the prophets of God.—Adam's *Religious World displayed*.

† See on this subject *The Ancient British Church*. W. L. Alexander, D.D., F.R.A.S.



of primitive Christianity, which so rapidly ensued. In the words of the author of "Supernatural Religion,"—with lamentable rapidity the elaborate structure of ecclesiastical Christianity, following stereotyped lines of human superstition, and deeply colored by Alexandrian philosophy, displaced the simple morality of Jesus. Doctrinal controversy which commenced amongst the very apostles has ever since divided the unity of the Christian body. The perverted ingenuity of successive generations of churchmen has filled the world with theological quibbles, which have naturally enough culminated of late in doctrines of Immaculate Conception and Papal Infallibility.\*

Upon the vicissitudes of the long continued struggles of the Athanasian and Arian controversy, or the dissensions between Constantinople and Alexandria, it is impossible that we should dwell in the limited space which remains; and we must pass rapidly on to the rise of Muhammadanism. In a previous number of this *Review*,† this subject has been treated at considerable length; by the present writer it will consequently be sufficient here, therefore, merely to quote as briefly as may be view from Draper's of its primitive character, which he contends is that which has long since been adopted by many competent authorities. Sir William Jones, he observes, (following Locke) regards the main point in the divergence of Muhammadanism from Christianity as consisting "in denying vehemently the character of our Saviour as the Son, and his equality as God with the Father, of whose unity and attributes the Mohammedans entertain and express the most awful ideas." This opinion has been largely entertained in Italy. "Dante regarded Mohammed only as the author of a schism, and saw in Islamism only an Arian sect. In England, Whately views it as a corruption of Christianity. It was an offshoot of Nestorianism, and not until it had overthrown Greek Christianity in many battles, was spreading rapidly over Asia and Africa, and had become intoxicated with its wonderful successes, did it repudiate its primitive limited intentions, and assert itself to be founded on a separate and distinct revelation." Within forty

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\* Dean Milman makes the following just remarks upon this period.

"If Christianity was making such rapid progress in the conquest of the world, the world was making fearful reprisals on Christianity, by enlisting new passions and new interests in its cause. Religion surrendered itself to an inseparable fellowship with those passions and interests. The more it mingles with human affairs, the more turbid becomes the stream

of Christian history. In the intoxication of power, the Christian, like ordinary men, forgot his original character; and the religion of Jesus instead of diffusing peace and happiness through society, might, to the superficial observer of human affairs, seem introduced only as a new element of discord and misery into the society of man."

† No. CXXV. "Calcutta Review." July 1876. Art iii., "Muhammad."



years of the death of Muhammad, the unity of God had been enforced at the sword's point in the greater part of Asia, Africa and Europe. The Pyrenees alone proved an obstacle which the Arab races were unable permanently to surmount. The death of Abder Rahman at the great battle between Tours and Poitiers ultimately decided the issue, "and compelled the Saracens to finally recross the Pyrenees. It was however the institution of polygamy, (in the opinion of Draper,) based upon the confiscation of the women in the vanquished countries, that secured for ever the Mohammedan rule. The children of these unions gloried in their descent from their conquering fathers. No better proof can be given of the efficacy of this policy than that which is furnished by North Africa. The irresistible effect of polygamy in consolidating the new order of things was remarkable. In little more than a single generation, the Khalif was informed by his officers that the tribute must cease, for all the children born in that region were Mohammedans, and all spoke Arabic."

The influence of the Nestorians in Syria like that of the Jews in Egypt was however destined to exercise, during centuries of violence and barbarism, no unimportant influence in determining the direction of the conquerers' minds towards philosophy and science, when the ferocious fanaticism of the Saracens was transformed into a passion for intellectual pursuits. The pre-existence of a natural aptitude of the Arab races for civilization may be admitted; yet that within less than half a century so remarkable a change should be capable of accomplishment, is in itself indicative of exceptional capacity which but required direction to effect its development. Spain, which for seven long centuries was subject to the sway of the Musalman sceptre, although of all the countries which owned the authority of the caliphs, the most remote from the seat of their empire, appears to have been the first in the cultivation and encouragement of science. Averroes, (Abul Walid, Mohammed Ibn Achmed, Ibn Roschd), translated and expounded Aristotle at Cordova. Benzaid and Abul-Mander wrote histories of their nation at Valencia; and even an Arabian encyclopædia was compiled under the direction of Muhammad-Abu-Abdallah at Granada. The works of Ibn-el-Beithar on botany and lithology, the studies of Al-Rasi and Avicenna in philosophy, and more particularly in medicine, and of Al-gazel and others gave an important impetus to the learning of the age. Rhetoric and poetry were attentively studied. "It would be difficult to point out," remarks Lockhart, "in the whole history of the world, a time or a country where the activity of the human intellect was more extensively, or usefully, or gracefully exerted, than in Spain when the Mussulman sceptre yet



retained any portion of that vigour which it had originally received from the conduct and heroism of Tarifa." \*

In "the golden prime of the good Haroun Alraschid," to every mosque was attached a school at which the Christian youth studied freely and honorably at the feet of Jewish physicians and Muhammadan philosophers. While in the Augustan age of Asiatic learning which ensued during the Khalifate of Al-Mamun, Bagdad, the capital of the khalifate, became the centre of science, the resort of all the learning of the time. The khalifs were patrons of letters. Pilgrims flocked to Bagdad, the central station of the caravan routes from Arabia, Turkey, Egypt, Persia and the West coast of Africa; and merchants sent their sons to travel under convoy, to visit distant cities, to attain instruction from teachers eminent in science and art. A higher degree of civilization was thus attained than had ever before existed.† In letters, remarks Diaper, the Saracens embraced every topic that can amuse or edify the mind. Science was cultivated after the manner of the Alexandrian rather than the European Greeks. It mattered not in what country a man was born, nor what were his religious opinions, his attainment in learning was the only thing to be considered. According to a saying attributed to Al-mamun, "they are the elect of God, his best and most useful servants, whose lives are devoted to the improvement of their rational faculties; the teachers of wisdom are the true luminaries and legislators of this world, which without their aid would again sink into ignorance and barbarism."

Under the designation of Averroism the theories of emanation and absorption were however destined to come specially into prominence, and the advance from the anthropomorphic ideas of the nature of God, to the more philosophical conceptions of

\* *Ancient Spanish Ballads, Historical and Romantic.* J. G. Lockhart. John Murray, Albermarle Street, London, 1842.

† On this subject see Yeats' *Growth and Vicissitudes of Commerce*—also his *Technical History of Commerce*.

"Arab commerce also in the middle ages attained great magnitude. The Arabs possessed for a time the entire maritime commerce of the Mediterranean. . . . A community of language throughout their possessions in Europe, Asia and Africa promoted social intercourse . . . Their prosperity surpassed that of the ancients both in its extent

and in its diffusion. While civilization was barely kept alive by the monks in Germany, Gaul and Britain, and the inhabitants were in a state of rude poverty: treasures of gold and silver, works of art, and splendid palaces abounded in the cities of the Arabs, thus realizing in a great degree the marvels of Arabian fiction. Jewish, Persian and Spanish scholars were welcomed at the courts of the Caliphs. The writings of the Greek philosophers were translated and eagerly read; astronomy and chemistry were studied, and it is to the Arabs we owe our numerical system and the science of algebra."



the Indian theology, had paved the way for what is termed the second conflict of Science with Religion, that respecting the nature of the soul. With Averroes who died in 1198, Arabian philosophy had been extinguished, and liberal culture sunk under the exclusive rule of the Koran and of dogmatics. Before his death he had been accused of cultivating the philosophy and science of antiquity to the prejudice of the Muhammadan religion, was robbed of his dignities and banished to Elisana (Lucena). \* Averroism, contends Draper, is nothing but philosophical Islamism; it was introduced into Europe by the Spanish Arabs. Into Italy, Germany, France and England it silently made its way. Upon the overthrow of the Arabian dominion in Spain, the papacy first undertook its more serious efforts for its forcible suppression.

Space will not permit that we should closely trace or follow the interesting history of the various theories of the soul held in the earlier ages; and those desiring to pursue further this branch of our subject, are referred to the comprehensive and able sketches of Professor Bain from which we have already quoted, † and we must press on to the highest stage of the development of the scholastic philosophy which was headed by Thomas Aquinas (a pupil of Albertus Magnus) which took place in the thirteenth century, and of whom it has been affirmed by Ueberweg, that he effected the most perfect accommodation that was possible of the Aristotelian philosophy to ecclesiastical orthodoxy, while he yet distinguished the specifically Christian and ecclesiastical doctrines of revelation, from those doctrines which could be possibly justified on rational grounds. His conceptions in regard to the soul touched (according to Bain) the utmost limit of abstraction in the line of dualism. Repudiating the Platonic doctrine of pre-existence, he maintained the immortality of the soul as flowing from its immateriality. The soul is pure form, entirely without matter. "Matter perishes through being separated from its form; but it is impossible that form should be separated from itself; wherefore it is impossible that existing form should cease to have being."

\* Ueberweg.

† The course from Aristotle to Aquinas is thus given by Bain as a summary from Ueberweg:—

"Aristotle regarded as form (his highest abstraction and antithesis to matter) immaterial, and yet individual, the Deity, and the active *Nous* or Intellect—the only immortal part of the human soul; leaving uncertain, the relation between this immortal *Nous* and the mortal compound of soul and body. Among his immediate followers, Dicaearchus and

Strato, the prevailing view was that all Form is imminent in matter. Alexander, the Aphradisian, ascribes to Deity, but to Deity only, a transcendental existence free from matter and yet individual; he makes the human soul depend entirely on matter for its individual existence. The later commentators, given over to Neo-Platonism, as Themistius, assert the human *Nous* to have the same independent and individual existence as the Deity, and on this side Thomas Aquinas ranges himself."



To revert however to the conflict which was involved in the spread and inculcation of the doctrines of Averroism. The union of Church and State instituted by Constantine, but more fully developed under the tyranny of Theodosius, (in itself as we have seen a relic of Paganism,) had practically never ceased, and this co-operation and amalgamation of the secular with the ecclesiastical power, has enabled the latter at various periods of the world's history to attempt the forcible and arbitrary suppression of advanced thought in a manner which would otherwise have been incapable of accomplishment. It was reserved to Innocent IV. to establish in the mediæval ages the special and terrible tribunal of the Inquisition, (a general and papal tribunal distinct from the previous tribunals of the Bishops, and the subtle brain of Torquemada, the Grand Inquisitor of Spain, was called into requisition to invent tortures sufficiently horrible to eradicate the fast-spreading heresies of Averroism, deemed dangerous to the stability of the Church, \* and to aid the stern relentless measures of extermination, which led to the ultimate overthrow of Averroism in Europe and the expulsion of the Jews and Moors from Spain.† The writings of Averroes, however, "had been made known to Christian Europe by the translation of Michael Scott in the beginning of the thirteenth century, but long before his time, the litera-

\* Yet in the chronicles of Spain,  
Down the dark pages runs this stain,  
And nought can wash them white again,  
So fearful is the tragedy.

And Torquemada's name, with clouds o'ercast,  
Looms in the distant landscape of the past,  
Like a burnt tower upon a blackened heath.  
Lit by the fires of burning woods beneath!

LONGFELLOW

† Llorente, the historian of the Inquisition, computes that Torquemada and his collaborators in the course of 18 years, burnt at the stake 10,220 persons, 6,860 in effigy, and punished otherwise 97,321. Draper.

The following excerpt regarding persecutions for religious belief is not uninteresting or unimportant.

Grotius computes that in the persecutions of Charles V., no less than 100,000 persons perished at the hands of the executioner. In the Netherlands alone, after the promulgation of the edict against reformers, 50,000 persons were hanged, beheaded, buried alive, or burned. During the reign of Philip II., the Duke of Alba boasted that in 9 years his executioners had destroyed 36,000 in the Low Countries.

At the Massacre of Paris (St. Bar-

tholomew's) at which Charles IX. personally assisted, 10,000 were killed. The Te Deum was ordered to be sung in the chapel of the Vatican, and a Papal Bull directed a Jubilee to be held throughout France (7th December 1512) in commemoration "of the happy success of the King" against his heretic subjects. In Queen Mary's reign there were executed in England at the stake, one archbishop, 4 bishops, 21 ministers and nearly 300 persons. In 1640 papal bigotry occasioned the butchery in Ireland of 40,000 protestants; while Louis XIV. (the most Christian King and the Eldest Son of the Church) starved a million Huguenots at home and sent another million grazing in foreign countries, &c.

As the author of "Supernatural Religion" justly observes, "Have the thousands who have been consigned to the stake by the Christian Church herself, for persisting in asserting what she has denounced as damnable heresy, proved the correctness of their views by their suffering and death? See vol. I., p. 196.

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ture of the West, like that of Asia, was full of these ideas. We have seen how broadly they were set forth by Erigena. The Arabians, from their first cultivation of philosophy, had been infected by them; they were current in all the colleges of the three khalifates. Considered not as a mode of thought, that will spontaneously occur to all men at a certain stage of intellectual development, but as having originated with Aristotle, they continually found favor with men of the highest culture. We see them in Robert Grosseteste, in Roger Bacon and eventually in Spinoza. Averroes was not their inventor, he merely gave them clearness and expression. The Lateran Council of 1512, condemned the abettors of the doctrine of the eternity of matter and the unity of human intellect as heretics and infidels. Foremost among the abettors (according to Dante) of this school of philosophers in Italy, embracing as it did the most powerful representatives of the Ghibelene party and denounced by the Church as a school of epicureans and atheists, was the Emperor Frederick II., the patron of the Arabian scholars, described by Macaulay as the ablest and most accomplished of the long line of German Cæsars. He was however destined to be unsuccessful in his conflict with the papacy, and with him these doctrines were for the time suppressed in the West. Medicines, Arabic philosophy, Averroism, astrology and infidelity, it has been remarked, had early in the middle ages become synonymous terms, owing to the fact that the Averroistic school, the most decided opponent of the scholastic system in its relation to theology, was mainly composed of physiologists and naturalists.\* Freedom of thought is not however to be stamped out in blood, and the marvellous and unscrupulous dexterity and ability which had facilitated the encroachments in

\* See an *Historical Sketch of Modern Philosophy in Italy*. By Vincenzo Botta, PH. D.

"As a promoter of freedom in philosophy as well as in political science, Dante stands pre-eminent in the history of his country (1265-1321). He was the first to construct a philosophical theory on the separation of the State from the Church in his *De Monarchia*, in which he advocated the independence of the civil power from allecclesiastical control: he also opposed the papal power in immortal strains in his *Divina Commedia*; and under the popular symbols of the age, strove to enlarge the idea of Christianity far beyond the limits to which it was confined by the scholastics. Petrarch (1304-74) bold-

ly attacked scholasticism in every form, denounced the church of Rome as *the impious Babylon which has lost all shame and all truth*, "with his friend Boccaccio, devoted himself to the publication of ancient MSS. and labored throughout his life to excite among his contemporaries an enthusiasm for classic literature. His works *De vera Sapientia*, *De Remediis Utriusque Fortunæ*, *De Vita Solitaria*, *De Contemptu Mundi*, blending Platonic ideas with the doctrines of Cicero and Seneca, were the first philosophical protest against the metaphysical subtleties of his age. Thus the fathers of Italian literature were also the fathers of the revolution which gave birth to modern philosophy." *The Age of the Renaissance*. p. 262.



the Western world of the ecclesiastical upon the civil power, was destined to receive a check, (from which it is only now recovering) in the Reformation; which, towards the close of the middle ages at length burst the bonds of papal supremacy, and inflicted a formidable blow upon the papal aggression and power. At the close of the struggle, it was found that Northern Europe was lost to Roman Christianity. Over the slow growth of mediæval mysticism in the 14th and 15th centuries in Germany, it is impossible that we should linger (although its influence upon the further development of science, down to the most recent times, is strongly and ably contended for by Lassen) \* and it is necessary that we should bring our remarks to a conclusion.

Whatever may be the point of view from which we may be disposed to regard the continued aggressive advancement of the Church of Rome in the present day there is one fact which must be patent to all and cannot indeed judiciously be ignored, nor will it admit of denial; namely, that the great principle of the Reformation has not prevailed to shake the wide-spread attachment to the system of religion "which has its home in Italy, and its seat on the seven hills"; and we have had significant demonstration of this fact afforded us in the recent appointments in the Romish hierarchy, both in the Old World and in the New. We cannot, therefore, but be of opinion that our author has perhaps rendered somewhat scant justice to the vast efforts made at internal purification within the Church herself, from time to time, but particularly about this period when thoroughly aroused to a sense of impending danger by the secessions of the reformation. As has more justly been urged by Macaulay, two reformations were indeed actually in progress at the same period, the one external of doctrine, the other internal of manners and discipline; and whilst the former was being rapidly pushed forward in the North of Europe the latter was evincing an almost parallel vigor and activity in the South. The profound policy of the Church of Rome which has ever been "the very master-piece of human wisdom, was in fact fully equal to the occasion when once awakened to full perception of the seriousness of the crisis. In the Bologna commission, nominated by Paul III. to search out the abuses of the Church, and of which Cardinals Caruffa, Contarine, Pole and Sadolet were the recognised heads, we have evidence of this fact, whether or not it be true as has been urged as opposed to the sincerity of the movement, that on Caruffa's advancement to the Papal throne, (as Paul IV.) he was the first to place his own advice in the Expurgatory Index, or that Pius II. when he attained a like dignity strongly censured the liberal opinions to which he had

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\* See. pp. 467. et Seq.



given expression when simply *Æneas Sylvius*. In the view of Macaulay, at this epoch in fact the whole spirit of the Church of Rome underwent a change. From the halls of the Vatican to the most secluded hermitage of the Appenines, the great revival was everywhere felt and seen. All the institutions anciently devised for the propagation and defence of faith were furnished up and made efficient. Fresh engines of still more formidable power were constructed. Everywhere old religious communities were remodelled and new religious communities called into existence. Within a year of the death of Leo the order of Camaldoli was purified. The Capuchins restored the old Franciscan discipline, the midnight prayer and the life of silence. The Barnabites and the society of Somasca devoted themselves to the relief and education of the poor. To the Theatine order a still higher interest belongs. Its great object was the same as that of our early Methodists, namely to supply the deficiencies of our parochial Clergy. The Church of Rome, wiser than the Church of England, gave countenance to the good work. In the great Catholic reaction Ignatius Loyola indeed bore much the same part as that of Luther in the Protestant movement. In the "order of Jesus" was concentrated the quintessence of the Catholic spirit," and the history of the order of the Jesuits whose members were termed in the Bull of Pius VII, "the vigorous towers necessary to the laboring ship of the Church," is the history of the great Catholic reaction. Within 50 years, remarks Macaulay, "of the day on which Luther publicly burnt the Bull of Leo before the gates of Wittenberg, Protestantism attained its highest ascendancy, an ascendancy which it soon lost and has never since regained." On the other hand from the time of Gregory VII. down to that of Pius IX., whose "Letters Apostolic" re-constituted the Romish hierarchy in England, there has been one almost unbroken chain of progressive and aggressive advance. That such has been equally the case with Protestantism it would be futile to attempt to plead. In England, however, with the Revolution, it is now realized there came a deep and permanent change over the whole temper of the English people in regard to religious thought. With it, as has been justly observed by an able modern historian, modern England begins. "Influences, which had up to this time moulded our history, the theological influence of the reformation, the monarchical influence of the new kingship, the feudal influence of the Middle Ages, the yet earlier influence of tradition and custom, suddenly lost power over the minds of men. We find ourselves all at once among the great currents of thought and activity which have gone on widening and deepening from that time to this. The England around us is our own England, an England whose chief forces are industry and science, the love of popular



freedom and of law ; an England which presses steadily forward to a larger social justice and equality, and which tends more and more to bring every custom and tradition, religious, intellectual, and political, to the test of pure reason. Between modern thought, or some at least of its more important sides, and the thoughts of men, before the Restoration, there is a great gulf fixed.

\* \* From that time to this, whatever differences there may have been as to practical conclusions drawn from them, there has been a substantial agreement as to the grounds of our political, our social, our intellectual, and our religious life."

From the expiring civilization of ancient Rome to its resurrection and restoration in Italy in the fifteenth century, there may be witnessed a long period of slumber and darkness. In the latter part of the sixteenth and the earlier portion of the seventeenth century, may be traced the earliest inceptions, amongst English minds, of unbiased original investigation in the higher fields of thought ; the commencement in fact of emancipation from old restraints and prejudices : and though there might be some danger inherent in the rapidity with which vast changes in the currents of human thought so quickly ensued, we cannot but recognise that the latter have, in our own day directly led up to, and resulted in, the gradual exchange of the generalisations of science for the old empiricism, which for so many centuries barred the road to all farther progress of the human race.

WILLIAM. B. BIRCH.

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## ART. V.—THE WASTES AND WATERWAYS OF CHITTAGONG.

CHITTAGONG, as a land of tea and tobacco, has of late years been rising into importance. The rich alluvial soil of the narrow valleys, with which both the Chittagong and Arracan Hill Tracts are intersected, has been found well-suited to the growth of tobacco. The Chittagong district has shown such progress in tea cultivation as to leave no doubt that it possesses great capabilities in that direction. There are still many parts, admirably suited to the growth of the tea plant, where as yet no pioneering planter has penetrated. Especially is this the case in the low, forest-covered hills, which now present an almost impassable barrier between the head-quarters of the Cox's Bazar subdivision, in the Chittagong district, and the head-quarters of the conterminous subdivision of Mangdu, in the district of Akyab. That portion of the Chittagong district is as wild, as unopened, as uncivilised, as sparsely populated, as unbridged, unroaded, and uncanaled, as it was when, upwards of a hundred years ago, it first fell under British rule. For the most part, it wears to-day the mask of a dreary, forest-covered waste. But, beneath the forest tree and jungle, its virgin soil contains the germs of great wealth. It wants but a little Government fostering and the energy of a few British planters to turn it into a land flowing with milk and honey.

The northern boundary of the Cox's Bazar subdivision lies some forty miles south of the town of Chittagong. The subdivision extends thence nearly a hundred miles southward, being a narrow strip of alluvial soil intersected by low hills and backed by the low mountain ranges, which, running parallel to the sea face, form the base of the lofty watershed which separates Ava from Chittagong. The southernmost part of the subdivision is a narrow, hilly strip of land, some four miles broad and thirty miles long, cleft from the mainland by the waters of the Naaf—a broad estuary. To the east of the Naaf marches the Mangdu subdivision of the Akyab district.

Although tea cultivation has of late years spread greatly in the northern portion of the Chittagong district, the difficulties of communication which exist in the Cox's Bazar subdivision, have caused planters, with the exception of one enterprising individual, to shun that locality. Yet, by reason of its more favorable rainfall, it may be said to possess advantages for tea cultivation superior to those of which the northern portion of the district can boast. The road cess, which is now being introduced in the Chittagong district, will ensure the gradual improvement of communications, but there is such an absence of roads and they are so much wanted on all



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sides that, for many years to come, it will be impossible with the most careful husbanding of resources to complete even the more important of the main routes in the more populous parts of the district.

Save natural waterways, the Cox's Bazar subdivision is unpierced by a single route along which trade can find its way. Those waterways are the rivers Mátátori, Bágháli, and Rezu, which, debouching from the hills in the order named, (the Mátátori being the most northern) intersect the subdivision on their way to the sea. They maintain a distance of about twenty miles from each other, and are separated by low forest-covered hills, at the base of which on either side is to be found a margin, some two or three miles broad, of rice fields gently sloping to the river. These rivers being unconnected, boats passing from one to another have to put out to sea. The coast, where unsheltered by islands, lies exposed to the full force of the monsoon; and, save for a very small portion of the year, navigation for country boats along its face is almost as impossible as it is unsafe. Even at the quiet time of the year, boats often have to lie for days at the river mouth and wait for a specially favorable opportunity. To the south, the subdivision has the Naaf estuary, which, down as far as the head-quarters of the Mangdu subdivision, on the opposite shore, can be used by ordinary country boats for a considerable portion of the year. But the trade of this part being mostly towards the town of Chittagong, boats laden with rice, the main item of export, or with salt, the main item of import, have to face the open sea and round the Teknaaf promontory, in which the narrow peninsula of the Cox's Bazar subdivision terminates. This is at all times a hazardous, and at most times an impossible, undertaking for small craft, for it means a two-days run without the chance of a harbour of refuge should a blow come on.

As for roads, there are practically none in the subdivision. In the fine weather the sea beach affords, throughout the greater part of the length of the subdivision, a passage for foot travellers. It is by this route that the majority of the fifty thousand men travel, who annually leave the Chittagong district for three or four months to help the Arracanese in ploughing and reaping, or the Akyab merchants in their godowns. A short road of ten miles runs east from the head-quarters of the subdivision to Ramu, where is situated the one tea garden, a considerable Mugh and Bengali town, and a Telegraph office. This road is, however, to a great extent unbridged, and is impassable in the rains.

But the subdivision does boast the remnants of a road, running north and south, which, even in its ruins, dwarfs to insignificance the tracks furnished by our engineers of to-day. During the first Burmese war there sprang into existence, probably under the



auspices of forced labour, a road, which, judging from its mutilated carcase, must indeed have been a mighty work. Scorning to search for a gap through which to creep, it flung itself on the low hills through which it had to pass, and, declining to climb, it clove them with deep broad cuttings, which the continued action of hill torrents on the sides and roadway has not yet made useless for foot or horse traffic. It traversed the valley land on either bank of the rivers with embankments ten feet high and roadways thirty feet broad. Though floods and rains have, for the most part, hacked and overthrown these great works to the verge of obliteration, a happy accident has here and there left them still showing some semblance of their former selves. The remains are now, however, useless except as affording to troops of foot travellers a track through the forest wilds. The solitary traveller finds his passage barred by the risks and fears of a long unbroken solitude.

Such, then, are the means of communication existing in the Cox's Bazar subdivision. It follows that, except along the river valleys, the population must be very scanty and cultivation almost absent. True, here and there, midway between the rivers, there is a lonely village around which there has been some breaking up of the soil. But these isolated settlers wage an unequal and discouraging struggle. The loss of the humble conveniences of their ordinary life, the lack of markets for their produce, and the encroachments of wild animals make them dispirited and irresolute. The toil and risk of long and lonely journeys, and the small dribblets in which, at a great expenditure of time, they can carry their produce to market, debar them from extending cultivation beyond that which is sufficient for their immediate wants. There are, consequently, large areas fit for rice cultivation, which are yet uncultivated. Still larger areas fit for tea cultivation, and as yet untouched, await the coming of British enterprise.

When to these considerations it is added that a large portion of the Cox's Bazar subdivision is an estate in the immediate possession of Government, it will be easy to understand that some Government outlay on opening up routes for traffic would bring in a rich return. Under such influences, it may safely be concluded, that much land would be reclaimed for the cultivation of rice and tea. Tea gardens and hamlets would call into existence the civilisation and markets necessary for the supply of their wants. The most beneficial and most feasible scheme for opening up these backward parts would be a navigable canal, which, connecting the several rivers by traversing the intervening wastes, would terminate, on the south, in the Naaf estuary, and, on the north, would be in communication with the town of Chittagong. The southern



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part of the Chittagong district and the northern part of Akyab would thus be linked by a series of sheltered waterways to the civilisation of Bengal, of which the town of Chittagong may now be said to be the most southern out-post. A cheap and sheltered water route, uniting the two civilisations of Bengal and Burma, could not fail to benefit both provinces. The direct benefit which would accrue to the wastes traversed by such a canal, would be represented by the whole difference between savagery and civilisation.

Trade between the conterminous districts of Chittagong and Akyab is now almost wholly confined to the seaborne traffic of their capitals. What is wanted is a route between those centres of commerce which shall be possible at all or most times of the year to a smaller, ruder, and more fragile kind of craft than that which alone can brave the dangers of the sea:—a route which shall at the same time communicate its civilising influences to the broad wastes of Southern Chittagong and Northern Akyab, by peopling and reclaiming those virgin regions which so long have stood aloof from contact with the world.

The Mátámori river—the most northern in the Cox's Bazar subdivision—is already placed by a navigable canal in direct communication with the river Karnaphuli at Chittagong. The effect of that canal in stimulating trade, the spread of cultivation, and the opening out of tea gardens has been marked. Owing to the direct and cheap communication thus afforded, and the ready market for surplus supplies thus placed within easy reach, rice is generally more than twenty per cent. dearer to the north of the Mátámori than it is farther south, where surplus stocks are in some places almost unsaleable.

The mouth of the Mátámori is about fifteen miles north of the mouth of the Bágkháli river, on the left bank of which stands the head-quarters of the Cox's Bazar subdivision. But the intermediate space would scarcely need a canal, for the islands of Moiscal and Kutubdea so shelter the narrow channel which connects the mouths of the two rivers, that it can be traversed by all boats in the quiet season, and by fair-sized boats in stormy weather. Nor does this channel involve a circuitous route, as the Bágkháli, for its last ten miles runs almost due north, and so forms a direct continuation of the channel.

The line of canals, by which the mouth of the Mátámori is connected with the Karnaphuli at Chittagong, is maintained at the cost of the district road fund, to the credit of which is passed, year by year, the amount for which the farm of the canal tolls is sold. The income thus realised leaves a handsome nett surplus to the credit of the road fund. The canals have been constructed on a cheap but efficacious method, and, except during periodical closures necessitated for the clearance of the silt, which, owing



to the absence of locks, finds its way into the canals, the traffic on them is brisk throughout the year. The tidal creek which runs north from the mouth of the Mátátori has been joined by a short cutting to the tidal creek which runs south from the river Sangu, a river running from east to west about twenty miles north of the Mátátori. The Sangu is then crossed, and a tidal creek running northwards is entered and followed for some fifteen miles, where, by a cutting a few miles long, it is joined to a tidal creek running south-east from the Karnaphuli at a point just opposite the town of Chittagong, which stands on the right, or northern, bank of that river.

What is left to be done in order to afford a safe and cheap water route for country boats and country produce, between the civilisation of Burma and the civilisation of Bengal is, to connect the tidal waters of the river Bágkháli with the tidal waters of the river Rezu, and those of the Rezu with the estuary of the Naaf. Local rumour has it that, several years ago, a survey for some such route was suddenly commenced and as suddenly given up before completion. Records of such a survey were searched for in the local offices, but were not forthcoming. The wild woodsmen, whom I met as I followed the path through the forest, and an intelligent headman of a village, were my first and last informants on the subject. Their story ran, that years ago they had attended on a strange Babu accompanied by a strange instrument, but whence he came or whither he went they knew not. He had spoken to them of the probability of a canal; some of the village headmen had agreed to supply labour; and there, so far as they knew, the matter had begun and ended.

Following the Bágkháli for about ten miles from its mouth upwards, one travels almost due south, and then, quitting the main stream and turning a point to the east of south, one follows the course of a small hill affluent. This is for a short way tidal, and then dwindles into a small rivulet. After passing through two miles of gently sloping rice land, the bounds of cultivation are crossed and the forest is entered. The stream, which becomes much swollen during the rainy season, has already cut for itself, through the low hills, a deep and, in many places, broad ravine. For the purposes of a canal this would have to be much deepened and widened. The supply of fresh water thus afforded would do much, if carefully husbanded in the canal, towards supplementing any deficiency midway between the meeting of the tides. The cutting through the hills would not be a work of any very great difficulty or expense, for even at the apex of the low watershed which, reached after passing through some three miles of forest, separates the valleys of the Bágkháli and the Rezu, the excavation would hardly exceed forty feet in depth, even if the



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level of the canal throughout the cutting were not raised by locks. Whether the supply of water afforded by the hill streams would be sufficient to admit of this latter course being adopted is doubtful.

Passing over the watershed, an affluent of the Rezu is immediately struck. It runs south, through two miles of forest and then through some two miles of rice land, until it reaches the Rezu. At this point the waters are tidal. Thus the connecting link between the tidal waters of the Rezu and the Bágkháli would be about nine miles in length,—I write from memory more than a year old, and in all details may not be quite accurate,—while the Bágkháli extremity would have to be deepened for some further distance.

The Rezu once reached, its course must be followed in a south-westerly direction for three miles, to a point where it receives a considerable affluent from the south. This affluent must be followed in a south-easterly direction for some five miles, throughout which it is a broad tidal stream. It then takes an easterly bend towards its source in the hills, and so must be quitted. But only six miles are now left before the waters of the broad Naaf estuary are reached. The land through which this portion of the canal would run is mostly a low-lying swamp, the natural outlet from which to the south has gradually become blocked by fallen timber and accumulated forest debris. This land, if drained by a canal, would become valuable.

If such an undertaking as has been proposed were limited to a work of the size necessary for country boats, its cost would not be great, while the gain in revenue from reclamations would by itself be considerable. The great stimulus given to trade and agriculture in the parts through which it would pass, as well as along the shores of the Naaf, would be a result equally profitable to the State and beneficial to its subjects. The districts of Akyab and Chittagong, now, in spite of their conterminous boundaries, almost complete aliens, would become knit together by the bonds of trade and mutual intercourse.

But, having brought those regions into communication with the civilisation and trade of the local capitals, it would become all the more necessary to supply an important link still missing in the chain of water-ways, which should connect the town of Chittagong and all south of it with the other eastern districts of Bengal and with Calcutta.

Chittagong is situated about ten miles from the mouth of the river Karnaphuli, which here runs almost due south, leaving but a narrow strip of land between its channel and the sea-board. Boats journeying northwards from Chittagong have now to proceed down the Karnaphuli to its mouth, and then, after rounding



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a very exposed and dangerous promontory, to traverse the open sea for some twenty miles before they gain the shelter afforded by the island of Sandwip. The difficulties of this journey oppose a great obstacle to communication between Chittagong and Eastern Bengal by the cheap and popular medium of country boats. Even in the quiet winter months, such craft have to wait under the lee of Sandwip or within the bar of the Karnaphuli, and watch for a favourable day for the run, while at all other seasons they dare not attempt the passage.

One means of remedying this defect would be the re-alignment and opening of an old, silted-up channel, seven miles in length, which cuts the narrow neck of land lying between the town of Chittagong and the sea coast. Starting from Chittagong and running north-west it comes out on the sea face some eight miles south of the island of Sandwip. This would mitigate, without entirely removing, the present difficulty, for there would still remain eight miles of open sea before the shelter of Sandwip could be reached. If this canal, instead of falling into the sea at that point, were carried ten miles farther north into the large tidal channel at Kumeria, whence a Government ferry now regularly plies to Sandwip, the difficulty would be entirely overcome. A sheltered water route, safe for large country boats at almost all times of the year, could in this manner be provided. Chittagong and Akyab would then be connected by a strong bond with Dacca, Goalundo, Calcutta, and the rest of the Indian world. From tidal water at Chittagong to tidal water at Kumeria, the country along the sea face is a level plain, and presents no engineering difficulty.

The peculiar configuration of the Chittagong district would demand still another navigable canal before its water-routes could be said to have attained to a fair degree of sufficiency. Fifty miles north of Chittagong town lies the river Fenny, which separates Chittagong district, with its peculiarities of land-tenure, language, and hill ranges from the rest of Eastern Bengal. Throughout these fifty miles there runs north and south, a range of hills, low at the extremities and rising to their greatest altitude, just midway, in the peak of Chandranath, which marks the respectable height of 1,200 feet. To the east of this range lie the thanas of Raojan, Hátházári, and Fattickcherry. To the west of it, along the seaface, lie the long narrow thanas of Kumeria and Mirkeserai. The former have no direct access to the latter, save through one or two hill passes, which are very difficult for foot passengers and practicably impossible for anything else. Thanas Raojan and Hátházári lie along the north bank of the river Karnaphuli, and, by means of it and its important affluent from the north, by name the Halda, which is tidal and navigable to their northern boundary,



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possess ample means of water communication with the town of Chittagong. But when the more northern thana of Fattickcherry is reached, it is found to be far less advantageously situated. It embraces an area thirty miles long from north to south, and several miles broad. No portion of it, except its extreme south, which is touched by the tidal waters of the Halda, and its extreme north, which rests on the Fenny, is possessed of navigable waterways. The tolerable fair weather road which runs from Chittagong town, northward, through thana Hátházári, at present stops five miles after it has passed the southern boundary of thana Fattickcherry. Cultivation is general for those five miles, for the next ten miles it gradually yields to undrained swamps and jungle-covered wastes. Thence, through the fifteen miles which have to be passed before the narrow margin of cultivation on the banks of the Fenny is reached, there is scarcely any population or any cultivation. Much of this region is very suitable to tea cultivation, but at present it holds only one isolated garden, and that, owing to the absence of land or water communication, does not seem to thrive.

The reclamation of the broad wastes of thana Fattickcherry could only be effected by the opening of a navigable water-route throughout its length, from the tidal waters of the river Halda to the tidal waters of the river Fenny. The length of such a canal would be about thirty miles. Several large hill streams run north and south throughout this distance. They would supply ample water for a canal. None of the land traversed lies very high, and a system of locked reaches would probably render any heavy excavation unnecessary.

The route thus afforded for trade going northward from Chittagong town or coming southward to it, would in a great measure supersede the necessity for the cheaper route by Kumeria. Its advantages over that route would be its greater safety, its being open at all times of the year to the smallest craft, and its power to reclaim and import civilisation into the wastes of Fattickcherry. Its one draw-back, in comparison with the Kumeria route, is the greater expense which would be involved. The Kumeria route would still be of much use, though it would not then be a matter of the same urgency as it now is.

These are schemes of such importance to the land revenue and to the opening up of a hitherto neglected district, of which Government is to a great extent the landlord, that it would be unfair to require the district authorities to carry them out from their own unaided resources. The funds furnished by the road cess are, and will be for many years to come, urgently needed for the supply of land routes throughout the length and breadth of the district.



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At the present time the resettlement for a long term of years of a large portion of the Government noábád estates in the district of Chittagong is in progress. The largest area of those estates is to be found in the south of the district and in the northern thana of Fattickcherry. These are the parts which would be especially affected and benefited by the carrying out of such schemes as those which have been propounded in this paper. It may be worth while for Government to consider the subject before ratifying a long term settlement in those parts.

The average population of the central and northern portions of the Chittagong district is 600 to a square mile, while in the southern part, or Cox's Bazar sub-division, it is only 161. In some of the central thanas of the district the population reaches the high average of 900 to a square mile. This is a purely village population; its density is not equalled by more than ten similarly circumstanced thanas in the whole of Bengal. For the cultivated area the population of the district shows an average of more than 1200 to the square mile. With such a population it is no wonder that high rents should obtain, as obtain they do. Rs. 12 per acre is not an uncommon rent, and Rs. 8 a very common one, in the more central and civilised parts; while, in the backwood parts Rs. 6 per acre is not out of the way. It is on account of the narrow limits of their own small holdings that so many thousand adults in the prime of life and manhood yearly troop to Arracan in order to supplement by their earnings for three or four months as hired workmen the yield of their home farm.

The settlement enquiries have already shown that, since the time of the last settlement, large areas have been reclaimed from waste. This is mostly the case in the central parts, whence easy water access to the town of Chittagong exists and where some few roads are to be found. In those parts cultivation is now general and a dense population is crowded. But in the southern parts, and also in the extreme north, means of communication are almost absent; whilst tigers, wild elephants, and wild pig do battle with the isolated bands of cultivators, and not only check their efforts to advance the bounds of their cultivation, but frequently drive them clean out of possession of lands which have already been reclaimed. It follows that, except along the river banks, the population is in those parts very scanty, nor can it be expected to increase and spread until improved communications have cleared the way for civilisation.

The settlement enquiries have also shown that there are now large areas of recent formation along the seaface which are ripe for reclamation. Though naturally hostile to any enquiries which may lead to an increase of the assessment on the cultivated areas, the closely packed population of central Chittagong is eagerly



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waiting for the coming settlement officer, to enable them to lap over their present bounds and settle themselves on these new lands. The wealthier among them are anxious to spread out of their central position and undertake reclamations to the north and south. There are, also, in the rich but narrow valleys of the south, crowded villages whose denizens eagerly ask every passing official when the settlement officer is coming to confer on them a right to enter on, settle, and reclaim some of the large areas of culturable waste lying in their neighbourhood and accessible from their present villages. Were the canal in the south opened, there can be no doubt that villages would quickly spring up all along its banks, and that the population from those centres would spread over, reclaim, and cultivate much of the adjoining lands.

I remember seeing a year or two ago a map and pamphlet which had been carefully prepared by a merchant of Akyab. In the short pamphlet he sought to describe how Akyab and Chittagong ought to be the centres of the trade of the eastern Asiatic world. On the map he demonstrated this revelation, which seemed to him to be a truism, by drawing a straight line from Dacca to Akyab through Chittagong, and another straight line from Bombay to Calcutta through Midnapore; by joining Goalundo and Dacca by the same easy process, and lastly and chiefly by drawing a straight line from Chittagong to Pekin through Mandalay. These lines represented the railways of the immediate future. As for engineering difficulties and natural obstacles, he would not hear of them. Money was nothing in the balance against directness. The skill which was equal to carrying a railway through the Alps, another over the Apennines, a third over the the Bombay Ghauts, and a fourth under the English Channel would shrink from nothing, and was, he contended, equal to the construction of a fifth by piercing the two hundred miles of mountains which sever Chittagong from the valley of the Irawaddy. This scheme was meant to dovetail with the railway of the future which, passing along the valley of the Euphrates, will link Karachi to Constantinople. With demure earnestness the projector urged his friends to grasp the present opportunity of buying up land in the vicinity of the towns of Akyab and Chittagong, for assuredly that investment would yield a hundred-fold when all the trade of China, Assam, and Eastern Bengal drained into those two centres of commerce. He recognized that the river on which the town of Chittagong stands is not of sufficient capacity to admit the shipping of the world. Akyab was therefore to become the port of Chittagong.

That gentleman was undoubtedly of a sanguine turn of mind. It was pleasing, until it grew wearisome, to hear him reckon



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up in glowing words the golden harvest which would fall into his garner, ere his generation had told its allotted span of threescore years and ten ; yet his appearance showed that he had already passed the bounds which separate youth from age.

By the side of that dazzling golden image my dull clay doll is humble indeed. It is not the extreme points of two vast continents that are to be linked, but the border lands of two counties.

Are these schemes which I have set forth merely the rose-coloured, but impossible and impracticable, visions of a dreamer ? For the welfare of the districts of Chittagong and Akyab, for the gain to the nation by an increased area of productive land, I hope, they may be as practicable as they certainly would be profitable. My dream, if it is one, lacks all bold conception, and unfettered aspiration. It merely seeks to grasp and turn to use every chance favour of nature ; it recognizes that it is bound hand and foot by the trammels of the purse.

T. M. KIRKWOOD.



ART. VI.—THE RENT ENHANCEMENT BILL.\* (*Independent Section*).

*Minute of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, dated 18th April 1876.*

THE Editors of Magazines published in England are accustomed to complain that they receive too great a supply of verses, and in particular of sentimental rhymes, written by young ladies. Subscribers require very little of this sweet stuff, whereas authors seem to think that they can never compose enough. In India there is a similar difficulty in the very different matter of articles upon the land question, a subject which has quite a fascination for a large class of writers, while upon readers its influence is distinctly repellent. Witness the rows of dust-covered volumes in many a public library, the unsold pamphlets on the shelves of every Calcutta bookseller, the uncut leaves of some of our contemporaries, and possibly, at times, those of our own Review. How many readers will get no further than the title at the head of this paper!—and those, too, men in general tolerant of all subjects, who would at least skim through an essay on the North Pole, or the motion of the Double Stars.

We are aware that it is of but little use to ask that wilful person, the general reader, to look at any thing which does not strike his fancy. And yet we would urge him to attend to this subject, in order to see that justice is done. The stake upon the game is so large, that in the interest of fair play, there should be some lookers-on. We cannot speak with certainty as to the value of the tenant-right of Bengal, but the best estimate we can make is, that it is worth six hundred millions sterling. The present rent, according to the road-cess returns, is about twelve millions, and some three millions are collected in illegal cesses. Experience proves that in the existing state of agriculture, the dues of the tenants cannot be raised much higher than this limit of fifteen millions, without some change in the law. Under a system of competition, on the other hand, it is believed that forty-five mil-

\*This article was written rather more than a year ago. Its publication has been delayed by various unavoidable causes. We now put it before our readers, though somewhat late in the day, in the belief that it will be generally regarded as a valuable contribution to the literature of a most important subject. Its conclusions are not altogether in harmony

with the policy which this *Review* has advocated for many years past; and we have therefore placed it in the "Independent Section." But the arguments, by which those conclusions are supported, are conceived in a spirit so fair and so moderate, that we believe they will be read with pleasure, even by those whom they fail to convince.—EDITOR.



lions sterling might be realised.\* In fact, the customary rent is but one third of the value of the land, the beneficial interest of the ryots in the soil is twice as great as that of the rent-receivers. The cultivators, as a body, retain thirty millions a year of the profits of agriculture, over and above their expenses and the remuneration of their labour. This capitalised at twenty years' purchase comes to the substantial amount specified,—six hundred millions sterling. The various legislative projects lately put before the Council or the public, are so many schemes for transferring a part or the whole of this property from its present possessors to persons of superior rank and influence, who cannot make good a claim to it under the existing law. Mr. Reynolds, the Revenue Secretary, wishes to take from the ryots and present to the higher tenure holders, half the value of tenant-right, or three hundred millions sterling. The British India Association, a political body representing the landowners of Bengal, asks for three hundred and seventy-five millions. Sir Richard Temple offers to them more than they ventured to demand,—four hundred and twenty millions, but with the proviso that it shall not be obtained all at once. Now we say that these are large sums, and that their transfer from one class to another is a serious matter, deserving the attention, not only of those interested immediately, or officially connected with legislation, but of a much wider circle as well.

The Bengal Legislative Council is the body which will have to deal with the Lieutenant-Governor's proposal. It is known to contain several able men, and on most matters commands considerable public confidence. But with regard to this question it labours under peculiar difficulties, and absolutely requires the assistance of impartial criticism. The distinguished natives who have seats in the Chamber are representatives of the class of landlords, while the ryots have no means of making themselves heard at the Board. Those legislators who are not proprietors are officials. It has long been the boast of the Indian services that its members have shewn impartiality in class questions, and resisted those social and political influences to which our governors in colonies, inhabited by mixed races, have too often succumbed. Still they are human, and are subject to "that last infirmity of noble minds," the desire of praise, and the fear of blame. Now among the natives of Bengal those interested in the enhancement of rent have the exclusive control of all organs of public opinion, their approbation passes for popularity, their dislike

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\* The area of Lower Bengal is 127,000,000 statute acres, of which about ninety millions are cultivated. The value of the produce of an acre is never taken at less than two pounds, and is generally put at a higher figure. The rack rent is supposed to be one fourth of the price of the crop, a proportion assumed in the Minute.



for general odium. It is natural that it should be so, for this class includes all that is intellectual or high-placed in the country. Its leaders are men of ability and position, and subordinate tenures have been so multiplied, subdivided, and scattered, that every native of any education or standing possesses some fractional interest in an estate, which would become more valuable if the land rents could be raised. The party thus formed makes the best use of the means at its command for influencing the conduct of public men on all class questions. Any official who opposes legislation in its interest must look for criticism; such as that passed on Lord Mayo and Sir George Campbell, the two Governors whose impartiality in such matters has been conspicuous. This is hardly a subject for just complaint, certainly not for special blame, as in it the Bengal Zemindars only act as do the members of every other party all the world over; and, considered as a political body, they must be praised for a certain courtesy and moderation towards acknowledged opponents. The difficulty is that their influence is not in any way counteracted. The cultivators are still dumb, without newspapers, knowledge, or organisation. Their silent approval must be pleasing but cannot be useful to the statesman; while their inarticulate murmurs of discontent are mistaken for signs of disaffection. We have said that property worth six hundred millions is at stake in the case. We now add that the cause is to be tried *ex-parte*, by a tribunal composed partly of judges who have a direct interest in the success of the only represented litigant, partly of men not unfavourably disposed towards the same side. Is a trial held under such conditions to want the security afforded by a gallery of impartial spectators? We ask the passer-by to step with us into the Court, pause, and add one to the scanty audience.

We will commence by briefly explaining the nature of the change which the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal wishes to introduce in the law of Landlord and Tenant. The bulk of the land of the province is cultivated by ryots, who have the right to retain their holdings as long as they pay a certain head-rent. The amount of this rent is fixed by custom, and may be varied either in the direction of enhancement or diminution, according to certain known rules, all founded on the ancient usages of the country. These are three in number. If it is proved by measurement that the farmer holds more or less land than he has hitherto paid for, his dues will be altered in proportion to the excess or deficiency. If an individual pays at a rate lower than that prevalent for land of the same value held by ryots of the same class in places adjacent, he may be assessed on the established standard. And lastly, when it is shown that the value of the crop has



increased or decreased, otherwise than by the agency of the ryot, a change may be effected in the rent proportionate to that which has occurred in the price of the gross produce. It will be seen that the object of these regulations is to preserve and not to destroy the old customs of the country. They are enforced to permit the inequality which arises from false measurement, from encroachments, and the action of rivers, to introduce uniformity where a particular man has been favoured; or to keep the share of landlord and tenant in the fruits of the soil the same, though expressed at different times by varying sums of money. The last case is analagous to that of the assessment of tithes in parts of England, where the amount is periodically adjusted according to the average price of corn: and some perpetual leases have been effected on the same principle.

Sir Richard Temple proposes that we should do away with these customary rates, and substitute for them others founded on competition. He would take as the standard of assessment the rent paid by the tenants-at-will, or on lease, from whom the landlord may exact the full value of the land. The difference between this sum and the present customary rate, which represents the privileged ryot's beneficial interest in his holding, Sir Richard Temple would divide between its possessor and the superior tenureholder, leaving to the former only one-fifth of it, if he has been less than thirty years in occupation, one-third if he has been on the farm for a longer period, and two-thirds if he has held it for forty years. This process of partitioning the ryot's property between himself and some one else may be repeated until his rent is within twenty per cent. of that which might be obtained by competition; a proviso is added that it shall in no case exceed that limit. It is obvious that the maximum would be reached by ryots of the lowest class at the first enhancement, by the intermediate grade at the second, and in the case of the oldest of the tenure-holders at the third turn of the screw. Thus, in the end, all would come to the dead level of twenty per cent. below the competition rate. That is the allowance which is ultimately to be left to all privileged ryots, in lieu of their present right to hold at customary rents.

It will be observed that there is no connexion between the system which Sir Richard Temple professes to destroy, and that which he desires to create. The one is founded on custom, the original source of all rights in landed property, the universal regulator of the position and privileges of the different classes in every oriental country. The other takes for its basis competition, the principle which in such matters is the great antagonist of custom: its rival, the enemy by which it has in so many places been first weakened, and then overthrown. This is no question of the reform,



amendment, or improvement of existing institutions. The demand is, that the old house shall be altogether pulled down, to make room for one completely new. What is sought is no less than a revolution in our land system, in that which has been considered the most vital part of our organisation in India. We do not deny that such radical measures may occasionally be necessary, even when they transfer the bulk of the property of a country. But we think that those who advocate them should make out a strong case.

We have stated the law on the subject of the assessment of the rent of privileged ryots as it has been laid down by the High Court, and is at present administered throughout Bengal. We would not, until recently, have supposed that any objection could have been made to what we have said on this matter, as, although there was much difference of opinion as to what the law should be, there was no question as to the nature of its existing provisions, the point having been settled long ago by competent authority. Sir Richard Temple has, however, started a new theory upon the subject, which, coming from such a quarter, deserves special attention. He believes that there is at present in Bengal no law whatever as to the extent to which enhancement of rent may be carried on occupancy tenures or the principle by which it should be regulated. This position he justifies by a reference to the words of the Code in force on the subject: Act X. of 1859.\* There he finds it stated that the old rent shall be considered fair and equitable until the contrary is proved, and that it shall not be altered except on one of the three grounds to which we have referred. But he does not discover any express rule as to the amount by which it may be raised or lowered when one of these three grounds exist. The principle that, as change is permitted only for a certain cause, it shall be made proportionate to the operation of that cause, which is now the controlling rule of assessment; he does not see explicitly set forth in the statute:—"The section," as the Minute puts it, "leaves untouched the deeper, the broader question, as to what, in reason or justice, ought to be the prevailing rate for occupancy ryots in any district or division of a district; nor is any test afforded by any part of the law for the decision of this question. The laws are, for the most part, silent on the question how rent is to be ascertained and determined in case of dispute." We have acknowledged the principle, that the zemindars should have some share in the increased value of the land, "but what that share is, how it is to be ascertained, how it is to be realized, has not as yet been settled by law," as it would have been, had the principle of proportion been sanctioned. The Lieutenant-Governor therefore supposes

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\* Re-enacted in Act. VIII of 1869.



that there is at this moment no rule whatever to regulate the dues to be paid by the majority of the cultivators. In the place for such a law or rule, he finds a blank leaf in the statute book on which he can sketch what he pleases. He may establish a system hitherto unheard of in this part of India, taken from sources altogether unconnected with any custom or usage which has ever been known in Bengal ; as for instance by uniting the the Oudh principle of the allowance of a percentage on the rack-rent, the Punjab division of occupancy ryots into three classes, and the scheme of "splitting the difference" between privileged and non-privileged rates, which an ingenious Secretary invented last autumn out of his own head.

The rights of different classes in real property may have been until very recently in this state of primitive chaos in the newly conquered provinces, with the administration of which Sir Richard Temple has long been familiar, and we can imagine of no work more honorable than that which has in such places fallen to him,—the creation of definite property out of a confused mass of contradictory claims. But we submit, that as applied to Bengal, the statement that there is now no-law as to the substantial rights of the majority of land-holders, is on the face of it erroneous. We have left half-a-century behind us the state of society in which such barbaric uncertainty was possible. For a hundred years these provinces have been under the immediate care of the Supreme Government, the seat of a legislature, and of independent courts of justice. The distinguishing feature of our administration has been a respect for the authority of legal decisions, a certain nicety in enforcing the rights of property, and the privileges of its owners. In other parts of India there has been a greater show of executive vigour, public servants have been more conspicuous, and more praised. In none has private industry been so active, so successful, and so well protected as in Bengal. It is here, in what has been called the garden of India, that art has found her seat, commerce her centre, that agriculture has produced her fruits in the greatest variety and abundance,—the rice, the jute, the opium, tea, seeds, and indigo, with which India maintains her external trade. We may add that the love of ascertained law, which characterises the Bengali, and the early settlement of European planters in the interior, have tended to hasten the period of the establishment of definite rights in property. Now, in a country so long settled, so regularly governed, so wealthy, and inhabited by a people so litigious, it is simply impossible that there should be no law as to the proportion in which the annual crop ought to be divided between the classes possessing an interest in it. It is as vain for a Punjab official to seek for so congenial a subject of legislation here, as it would be for the Assam hunter to beat about the fields



of Hooghly in search of a herd of wild elephants. Such things cannot exist in a civilized province. If there was no statute law on the subject, rights would have been defined by the common law. Cases would have been brought, decrees given and appealed against; the High Court would have had to intervene. If its decisions were contradictory, they would have been referred to a Full Bench. This supreme tribunal would then have established a precedent absolutely and for ever binding on all Courts, including those of the Judges convoked to form it. Its finding would have been communicated to the legislature, and if that body did not think fit to alter the law as thus ascertained and established, it would by its abstention have lent the sanction of its authority to the rule.

Such has, in fact, been the history of the origin of the rule of proportion. After the passing of Act X. of 1859, there was a short interval of doubt, such as must necessarily elapse between the promulgation of such a statute, and its authoritative interpretation. Some lawyers raised at the time the difficulty which is now put by Sir Richard Temple, and their view was countenanced by a decision of Sir Barnes Peacock, in the case of Hills and Ishore Ghose; although the Chief Justice did not go the length of declaring that there were no binding customs on the subject in Bengal, limiting himself to the statement that the rule of proportion was not universal, and did not extend to Ishore Ghose. Other Judges were of a different opinion, and the matter came in due course before a Full Bench. This body decided by a majority of fourteen to one (the Chief Justice adhered to his original opinion) that every occupancy ryot possesses the right to hold under all circumstances at proportionate rates, and that such is the true intent and purpose of Act X. of 1859, as ascertained from its different sections, when read together, and in connexion with the previous law, and the customs of Bengal. We need not trouble the reader with the legal argument by which this finding is supported, as in the original it extends over some hundreds of pages, and it scarcely admits of condensation. We refer him to the report of the Thakooranee or great rent case. Let him read the judgments there printed, and in particular that of Mr. Justice, now Sir George Campbell, and we premise that he will not only be convinced of the correctness of the result, but also, while learning more of the nature of our land system than he could in any other way, he will rise with the highest opinion of the fairness, the knowledge, the ability and eloquence which on a fitting occasion our High Court can display. The attention of Bengal was riveted on the case at the time, and the Chief Justice brought the subject to the notice of the Legislature by a formal letter. The framers of Act X. of 1859 declined to interfere. Their inten-



tions had been properly interpreted, and they were perfectly satisfied with the result. Thus the rule of proportion received the sanction of the Supreme Government.

Since that time fifteen years have elapsed during which the occupancy ryots have been in full possession of the right to hold at proportionate rates. In districts where, by the custom of the country, these privileges are alienable, they have been freely bought and sold under the protection of our law, and often by the direct order of our Courts. Everywhere they have been purchased from the Zemindars by the payment of what in England is called a fine, in Bengal "Salami." They have been transmitted from father to son as the most valuable inheritance, and have been made the basis of all the family arrangements of the cultivators. The greater part of the produce of the country is peacefully raised, and reaped, and divided under the system thus established. It is only now, at the last moment, when power has passed into other hands, and the upper classes see their opportunity, that the rule which has so long been at work is declared void, and we are told that Bengal does not possess any law upon the most important subject which can engage the attention of an Indian statesman.

It is curious to observe the way in which those who dislike it mention the decision which defines existing rights. The Hon'ble Kristo Dass Pal spoke of it in Council as "only a Full Bench ruling," as if there could be any higher authority. The Advocate General declared that the fourteen judges (he reduces the number to thirteen by some mistake,) did not answer an argument of Sir Barnes Peacock, to which much weight is attributed; as if the most laboured judgments ever delivered in this country could now be reviewed by subordinate law officers. Sir Richard Temple himself refers to the ruling in a passage which seems to us the perfection of what is now called the art of minimising. After stating that there is no law on the subject, he continues:—"In practice I underst and that the Courts generally try to follow a leading judgment of the High Court, according to which, the new rent should bear to the present value of the produce the same proportion which the old rent bore to the old value of the produce." In these few lines we detect four inaccuracies. The sole binding precedent is spoken of as if it were one of several, the Courts are said to attempt that which they in fact perform, to do in practice what they are bound to do by law, and to follow generally a guide which they have always to accept.

It seems to us impossible to draw any distinction between a rule which has been established in the way we have described and any other part of the law, or to maintain that an interest in land held under such a tenure is less worthy of protection, than other forms of property. We must accept the interpretation put



upon the statutes by those whom we have appointed for the purpose of enforcing and explaining them. And what the law acting through the Courts has declared to belong to any man, that is his. To take it away from him without adequate compensation is confiscation undisguised. Those who wish to alter existing rights in property do not really better their position by attacking the decrees of the judges who have declared that such rights exist. It would be more honest to acknowledge facts, while endeavouring to change them, to confess that the privileged tenure holders do really possess what a Full Bench has found to be their property, even if it is thought necessary, for reasons of State, to take their right away.

Accepting the Government measure as one of confiscation, let us recall for a moment the two well-known objections against such legislation. Every Act which deprives individuals of that which the Courts have declared to belong to them, gives a shock to the whole fabric of society. It forms a precedent for further confiscation. Sir Richard Temple supposes that his Bill will give to the ryot a better title to the twenty per cent. allowance to be left to him than he now has to his tenure, at the customary rate, and the Minute refers to this confirmation of a part of the tenant's rights as a consideration for the withdrawal of the remainder. This seems to us a very mistaken view of the subject. If the Bengal Government confiscates property held under the sanction of the existing law, some other authority may make as free with rights conferred by the Bengal Government. The motives which now prevail will be just as strong hereafter, and the arguments used to carry us a certain length, tell with equal force in favor of going farther still. A new Lieutenant Governor may hold that Sir Richard Temple was unduly liberal when he left to the ryots the privilege for holding at twenty per cent. below the competitive rate. Why should not ten per cent. suffice? Why not five? Why draw any distinction between the occupancy tenure holders and other cultivators? Or, if we suppose that power should, hereafter, pass into the hands of those who favor the claims of the national exchequer against the rights of the zemindars, this precedent will be quoted as a reason for repealing the perpetual settlement. The rates legally established for inferior tenure holders having been broken, there can, it will be argued, be no reason for preserving those of the landlords. The same measure which they have dealt to others should be given to them, twenty per cent. on the revenue to be obtained by open competition, and no more. Strongly opposed as we are to all interference with vested interests, we would certainly prefer such an Act as the lesser of two evils. Again, if we suppose that the *ryotwari* or tenant-right school should succeed to the Government, en-



encroachments on the right of the zemindar to a proportionate enhancement might be justified by arguments much stronger than any which have been advanced by those who advocate this measure. It is always the interest of the rich, as it is of the State generally, to withdraw the rights of property from the field of political warfare. Fear of retaliation, if nothing else, should prevent them from using a temporary command of the legislature for the purpose of confiscating vested interests opposed to their own: the victors of to-day are the vanquished of to-morrow, and those who refuse quarter very seldom get it.

The other common place on which we must touch, is the individual suffering caused by any disturbance in the existing distribution of property. It has been very properly remarked that the repudiation by a nation of its debt, not only injures the wealthy but also reduces to beggary many widows, orphans, and infirm men, incapable of earning a livelihood. If this is true of a form of investment generally adopted only by those in comfortable circumstances, it applies with much greater force to property such as the right of occupancy, which is almost entirely in the hands of the poor. We have never heard that any statesman has proposed to confiscate the deposits in the Savings Bank, the measure which would in England correspond to withdrawing the privilege of proportionate rates in Bengal. It is fortunately true that where tenant-right prevails the cultivators as a body are well off. But there are among them many families who are either just above pauperism, or who have already sunk a little below that line, and are partly supported by charity. Every famine officer must have seen hundreds of persons in this condition, although holding at very favourable rates. Where a father dies leaving a widow and several young children the survivors can only just pay the customary rent and live; and in the treacherous climate of Bengal such bereavements are even more common than in other countries. It is evident that the effect of a sudden enhancement of rent would be most injurious to such unfortunates. The writer may say that he has never enquired into the condition of a village without finding in it a family which the proposed law would ruin. To put a common case. A cultivator buys at a sale in one of our Courts, the right to hold a farm worth two pounds a year, at a head rent of ten shillings. He dies, leaving this beneficial interest in the tenure, thirty shillings a year, as the sole provision for a widow and three children. She adds to her income by doing a little work in rice-husking, and manages to maintain the family respectably. Under Sir Richard Temple's scheme, the rent is raised to thirty-two shillings, the profit reduced to eight, and the children starve. Such considerations are set aside when we have to enforce existing rights, the legislator then makes the rule which works



best on the whole, and he is not responsible if in particular cases hardship ensue. But we cannot keep the wrongs of individuals out of sight, when the proposal is for confiscation. The private misery which result from such laws is the handiwork of those who pass them, and its guilt is on their heads.

We have now to consider the arguments which have been put forward in support of the Bill. They may be divided into two parts, according as they relate to right, or to utility; as they plead for the justice, or the expedience, of a general enhancement of rent on the new system.

On the ground of equity, it is urged that in 1859 the privilege of occupancy was improperly extended to persons not entitled to it, and that it may therefore be now taken away from them and others or at least its value may be reduced. Thus we find quoted in the Minute a statement of the British Indian Association, a combination formed by the landlords of Bengal for political purposes, that the majority of occupancy ryots were originally in the condition of tenants-at-will, and that it would meet the ends of justice, if a moderate allowance were made to them, in exchange for the tenures subsequently conferred upon them. Sir Richard Temple himself adds, with a confidence which appears strange in the successor to the author of "The Tenure of land in India," that "it will be admitted that Act X. of 1859, by enacting virtually that a ryot of twelve years standing should be held to have an occupancy *status*, did assign to possession of a certain limited duration a significance not previously accorded in Bengal; there is no doubt of this, however just and proper the decision may have been." The proper answer to this assertion is that even if true it proves nothing. If in 1859 the tenants received certain new rights from the legislature, then they are now in legal possession of such rights. We have in India to respect the old Greek saying, that "not even the Gods can recall their gifts." It may be very wrong to grant to tenants-at-will a statutory title, but once it has been conceded it is valid. A great number of zemindars hold their estates under an Act passed in this very year of 1859, and one which they are never tired of denouncing, the sale law. Nearly all the land in Bengal has at one time or another changed hands under the operation of similar statutes. The Permanent Settlement is a well known instance of a regulation which conferred novel rights. The great class of putnidars hold under invalid contracts, subsequently made good by an *ex post facto* law. The title of most tea-planters rests on the Waste land Act. The right of zemindars to enhance their rent on occupancy tenures on account of an increase in the value of the land is derived from a clause in Act X. of 1859. If we commence to question titles on the ground that they are merely statutory,



where are we to stop? The superior tenure holders cannot draw the line just where they please, keeping as sacred every right conferred on themselves, and confiscating for their own benefit the privileges of the humbler classes. All the vested interests created by Statute are bound up together, and if one is rudely plucked out from the bundle, the others fall to the ground.

We cannot, however, afford to let the matter rest here, as the plea is so frequently repeated by those who have every reason to wish it true, that the accuracy of the historical assertion on which it rests, is now, it seems, taken by the highest authority as a fact admitted. We will therefore in a few words remind the reader of the history of Tenant-Right in Bengal. The regulations of 1797 acknowledge the position of all ryots without exception as tenure-holders at a quit-rent, assessable according to the customary rates of the District, as registered in the office of the Collector. In case of a dispute as to this rate, the Civil Courts were bound to ascertain and notify them. Thus in 1797 we had tenant-right absolute and universal; the question is how far it has diminished since that date. Under Reg. XVIII. of 1812, the Zemindars have the privilege of letting on such conditions as they may think fit, any land which may come into their own immediate possession, such as their private estates (*niz-jote*), the waste, new accretions, and farms which the old ryots have abandoned, or that have been resumed on account of default in rent, or the failure of heirs. They can in such cases take the full rent, let the land for a term or during pleasure, and guard against the growth of any adverse interest of occupancy by a clause in the lease drafted on the English model of a provision for re-entry, or otherwise. Where these powers have been exercised, tenants-at-will or for a period have been created, a new class, unknown in 1797, unknown to all oriental institutions, the creatures of the western system of contract. No attempt has ever been made to confer any privilege, even the slightest, on such tenants: they may be ejected without receiving compensation for standing crops, much less for permanent improvements. The only ryots as to whose status there has been a difficulty, are those settled on their farms after 1797, without a written contract to show the terms of their tenancy. It has always been acknowledged that, in the absence of any special agreement, their position should be determined by the custom of the country. Such, we may fairly assume, must have been the intention of the parties to the contract; had they wished to form relations of an exceptional nature, different from those regulating the relations of their neighbours, they would have taken care to execute some deed recording their peculiar covenant. But in Bengal it has not been easy to ascertain the nature of this custom. According to some persons, the usage was



that where a ryot reclaimed waste, or received land in his own township, he got with it the right of occupancy; tenancy-at-will being, under the native system, confined to holdings on the Zemindar's own domain, or in a village other than that where the cultivator resided. After a full consideration of the subject we consider that this view is correct. Such a custom prevailed in 1797, as shewn by the regulations, and we find no trace of any subsequent change. It is implied in our older sale laws. On no other supposition can we explain the well-known fact, that ryots freely, and almost capriciously, exchange land in which they have an undoubted right of occupancy for other fields in the same village, without caring to provide that a good title is conveyed with the property received. It is assumed that the mere occupation with the landlord's consent is sufficient. Any intelligent ryot, if questioned, will speak to the existence of the custom. There was in 1859, however, another school, which held that a right of occupancy was, according to usage, acquired by a residence for twelve years, the Mahometan period of limitations. This opinion had been acted upon by the settlement officers in the North-Western Provinces, and had been declared valid by the Sudder Court of Calcutta in a judgment to be found at page 778 of its decisions for 1857. A third party declared that all tenancies in this country should be considered as held from year to year, unless the contrary was shewn. This theory, which has attractions for English lawyers, because it makes out our Bengal customs to be the same as those which have been created in England since the decline of the feudal system, was subsequently embraced by Sir Barnes Peacock; but was in 1857 repudiated by him, as well as by every other member of the Legislative Council.

What we wish to point out is that the framers of Act X. of 1859 examined the question as to what ryots possessed occupancy rights in a judicial spirit, seeking not to alter but to ascertain and declare the existing law; and that the opinion which they in the end adopted was of the nature of a *via media* between two extreme theories. At first they accepted without reserve the more liberal view, that to which, as we have said, our own judgment inclines. The provision that all resident ryots possess occupancy rights, was inserted in the Bill as drafted, read twice in Council, and submitted for the opinion of local officers. Mr. Halliday, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Mr. G. Sconce, the Sudder Court judge, and other great authorities reported in favor of the twelve years rule. It was adopted by the Select Committee of the Legislative Council which included Sir Barnes Peacock, and Mr. Currie, for reasons which they explained in the following passage of their report:

Sec. VI. "The laws in force speak of *Khudkhast* ryots as



possessing rights of occupancy, and in some places the word *Khudkhast* seems to be considered as synonymous with resident. Resident was therefore the word used in the original Bill. But it has been pointed out by the Western Board that residency is not always a condition of occupancy, and it appears after much inquiry it was prescribed by an order of the Government of the North-Western Provinces in 1856, as most consistent with the general practise and recognised rights, that a holding of the same land for twelve years should be considered to give a right of occupancy. We have followed this precedent, and altered the section accordingly."

This plain statement is quite conclusive as to the intentions of the legislators of 1859. They meant the statute to be on this point purely declaratory, founded on "general practice and recognised right," as ascertained after close enquiry. The case of those who now say that they attached undue value to residence for a limited period is, that the persons appointed twenty years ago to enquire into the then existing customs were mistaken on a point of fact. We also believe, though less confidently, that there was an error, that the definition chosen at first, was better than that by which it was afterwards replaced. But we would not ground a claim for occupancy rights on behalf of resident ryots of less than twelve years' standing on our belief that they should have got them in 1859, nor would we now ask that they should receive any compensation. And this because it appears to us that the finding, on the point of fact, should under the circumstances be final. It was made by competent authority, after due enquiry; it was of the nature of a compromise; it has stood unquestioned for years. Is it prudent, is it moderate, is it statesmanlike, to revive old controversies, which the world had supposed to be laid at rest for ever! To refuse to be bound by any decision, no matter how solemn, or ancient! We do not dwell upon the fact, that, though the privilege of the ryot was not created in 1859, that of the zemindar was. The right of a superior tenure-holder to any share in the increased value of land held at a quit-rent was never heard of in Lower Bengal, until it unexpectedly arrived one morning with the Simla mails, it having been thrust into the Bill at the last moment, and passed without explanation or discussion. We do not say this with any desire to question the right, for it is now the law, and it should be respected without too severe a criticism of its origin. But it is strange to see a litigant endeavouring to discover in his opponent's title the particular defect which is patent in his own. Zemindars and their friends have had this discussion so much to themselves that we must caution them against coming to believe in a fabulous history of the origin of different parts of the landlords. It is not true



that all the privileges of the ryots were devised yesterday, *instigante diabolo*; or that those of the zemindars came down from heaven direct at the creation of the world. Both are derived from native custom, modified by English law, the distinction between them being, that the rights of the cultivators are the more ancient.

The Government scheme itself betrays the hollowness of what we may call the historical plea for confiscation. It certainly deprives the holders of the tenures, which were in 1859 declared to be valid, of two thirds of their beneficial interest in the soil, and this act may be defended on the ground that the finding then arrived at in their favor was a mistake. But no such excuse can be made for any interference with privileges purchased or otherwise acquired since 1859. These were undoubtedly gained in a legitimate way, by lawful contract. The Code declares that a grant of village land to a ryot, followed by his residence on it for twelve years, shall, in the absence of any stipulation to the contrary, be held to amount to the creation in his favor of an occupancy tenure, with all its incidents. Every landlord who, since the promulgation of the law, has performed the act was aware of its consequences, and must be held bound by them. Indeed vast sums have been obtained in fines and cesses as consideration for such grants. And yet the Bill is even more harsh on ryots who have thus brought their privileges under the law than upon those whose titles are said to have been created at the time of passing the statute; for it takes from them not two-thirds only, but four-fifths of their interest. From this it seems to follow that, however the supporters of this measure may put forward antiquarian theories to keep off the uninformed crowd, they are themselves but little under the influence of such delusions. In their practical action the rule seems to be to push enhancement as far as it is likely to be borne, irrespective of the nature of the title under which exemption is claimed.

It will be seen that no excuse for tampering with the tenant-right of Bengal can be derived from the history of its origin. It is as vain to contend that the privilege of occupancy was conferred by the Supreme Legislature, as it is to maintain that the right to hold at proportionate rates was added by the High Court. The majority of our present ryots inherit their interest on the soil from those who were declared by the Perpetual Settlement to possess such a title. The remainder have acquired their position by contracts, generally made for a consideration, the nature of which is inferred from the general custom of the country, as ascertained by the Legislative Council in 1859, and since then from a positive statute. These two classes have been amalgamated, and cannot now be separated. Their tenures have been con-



firmed by express law, and have thus been bought and sold with a statutory title. We cannot even imagine how any property could be better secured. It is strange if prescription, contract, the decision of Courts, and the Acts of Council prove insufficient to preserve to the peasant his interest in the soil he ploughs.

Sir Richard Temple has referred to an idea of what in reason and justice an occupancy rent ought to be, as a proper guide to follow in legislation. He puts the objection to the existing system, the rule of proportion, that under it "the justice of the new rent must depend on that of the old. But what if the old rent were questionable, what if it were too high, as perhaps in some parts of Western Bengal, or too low, as perhaps in some parts of Eastern Bengal? Whatever defect may exist in the old rent is necessarily repeated in the new." The suggestion that the rates may be too high in Behar must be taken in connexion with the fact, that the Government scheme makes no provision for lowering them. The practical issue is confined to the proposal to raise the quit-rents of the East on the ground that they were from the first, and therefore under the law of the land must always continue to be, lower than in reason and justice an occupancy rate should be. Now we must say that this is a little fanciful. Reason and Justice, which are here introduced as authorities, do not prescribe any particular dues for occupancy ryots; any more than they do for Putnidars, Mohurridars, or Zemindars. Their admonition is simply that of the old Roman maxim, "give every man his own." Where a rent designed to be perpetual was originally fixed on a new scale, this was probably done from a consideration. The proposal is that the tenant should be deprived of four-fifths of what he bought, without getting back any part of the purchase money, that the landlord should take again what he sold, without returning the price received in exchange. Such actions are not dictated either by reason or justice. In every case, we must add, the terms of a perpetual tenure are fixed by special contract, by custom, or by statute; it must always be both foolish and inequitable to interfere by an *ex post facto* law, in order to make such holdings conform to our abstract idea of what their conditions ought to be.

This is the proper place in which to offer our comment upon the praise for liberality which the advocates of the present Bill bestow upon each other, on the ground that they wish to leave the ryots some part of their present share in the rack-rent. If they believe that public opinion would tolerate a measure more sweeping than that at present put forward, then they deserve some thanks for their moderation. They show liberality of the kind displayed by the hero of one of the late Lord Lytton's novels; the celebrated Paul Clifford, when he returned to those he stopped



on the highway a part of what he took from them, to the Bishop his gold watch and ten pounds from his purse, to the maid of honour her earrings and diamond aigrette. But if, on the other hand, they are trying to get as large an enhancement as there is any chance of the legislature allowing, they cannot claim the sympathy which we give to that generous robber. Those who grasp at all within their reach need not make a merit of leaving what they are unable to touch.

We come now to the arguments in favor of the proposed change which rest on utility, not on justice. It is proper that these should be considered with attention, but always subject to the maxim, that what is unfair can seldom in the long run be useful; that interference with the rights of property for the sake of some advantage to be gained is a dangerous practice. There are persons who believe that what they call a moderately high rent is conducive to the interests of agriculture, and to that of the cultivators themselves. Where the tenant has little to pay, he falls, these authorities assert, into habits of idleness; he neglects his work, less is produced, and while the country obtains a diminished crop, the farmer has no greater profit. High rents, on the other hand, make constant labour a necessity. The peasantry acquire the best of all qualities, industry, and become more happy and contented than the slothful can be. And the nation is benefited by an abundant supply of all the fruits of the earth.

On this speculation we must remark that while it gives a reason for taking money from the ryot, it affords none for making over the sum thus obtained to the zemindar. The superior tenure-holder has bought, probably at one of our auction sales, the right to receive from the inferior a certain fixed sum every year, or a payment assessable according to known rules. He has no claim to anything more than he has thus purchased. If we find it necessary to benefit the cultivator by increasing his liabilities, the lord of the manor has not a title to the excess. It should be used for the good of the public, or for that of those from whom it is taken. The education of the children of cultivators, and the support of their families in times of scarcity, are objects which naturally present themselves as suitable for the employment of such a fund. The reader will at once see that such a suggestion is unpractical: the argument that an increase in liabilities promotes industry, would be scouted if used as a plea for enhancing the amount of taxation. And this shows of what a flimsy texture the theory is made of. Used as a pretext for indulging the greed of a class, and supported by the political influence of those whom it would thus benefit, it does as well as another excuse. Any reason in favor of taking her cargo from a merchant ship will seem good to the pirate: he will be at once struck by the statement that it is



benevolent to make the vessel lighter, and thus to fit her for facing rough weather. But if informed by the Captain of a Man-of-war, that, though he may help to remove the freight to a safe place, he must not keep any of it, the pirate's belief in the necessity for interference will disappear at once.

The theory that high rents paid by the actual cultivators produce prosperity is not supported by any of the known facts of Indian agriculture. On the contrary, it appears that wherever the assessment has been low, the people have been prosperous, where it approached such a figure as eighty per cent. of the competition rate they have been distressed. Sir George Campbell often commented in official reports on the wretched condition of the cultivators in Behar where the local authorities have permitted the law in favor of tenant-right to remain a dead letter, with the comparative comfort of the ryots in Eastern Bengal, the part of the country in which the ancient rights of the cultivators have been best preserved. Sir Richard Temple, has, with great impartiality, testified to the same fact, though it is not favourable to his present policy. We could go through the list of the different Districts of Bengal, from Chittagong with its rich peasant proprietors, to the rack-rented ryots of the Darbhanga Raj, recently receiving State relief as paupers, and show that the prosperity of the peasantry varied inversely as the rent rate. If we look beyond our own Province we find that in Bombay the assessment is lighter than in other Presidencies, and that tenant-right has been conceded in full, even to the extent of permitting the cultivator to sell or underlet his interest in his farm. The effect is felt in high wages, a crop not only sufficient for the population, but leaving an ample margin to support commerce by large exports, an amount of comfort among the lower classes which at once strikes and gladdens the eye of the traveller. In the neighbouring Province of Gujarât, we have rack-rents, and misery. The land revenue of Madras was at first comparatively high, though less than what might have been obtained by competition. The resources of the country remained undeveloped until Lord Harris reduced the assessment in 1854, since which there has been an improvement. But the rate is still greater than that of Bengal and Bombay, and Madras is still backward in agriculture. In the North-West, too, the rent is generally imposed on a medium scale, and the country is not remarkable either for the poverty or the wealth of its ryots. Oudh is an exception, it is to some extent rack-rented, ejections are frequent, emigration is active, and a Bengal revenue officer on visiting the country is saddened by the unfortunate condition of its inhabitants. These facts have influenced the judgment of the Government of India, which has deliberately adopted on its own estates the policy of light assessments.

The authors of this proposal do not wish to reduce the prosper-



ous ryots of Eastern Bengal, to the wretched condition of their brethren in the worst parts of Behar; but such, in all human probability, would be the ultimate effect of their measure. The cultivators who now hold upon lease only, or at will, would be the first to feel the consequences of the passing of the Bill. The landlord has at present the right to subject these tenants to the rack-rent, enforcing it in the only practical way, by frequent ejectments, and free competition for the vacant farms. But in fact nothing of the kind takes place. Very little could be gained in money by introducing such a system, as the class is comparatively small, while much would be lost in popularity. The Zemindar would appear to be breaking through the established usages of the country, in order to oppress a few isolated ryots left by the law at his mercy. If he adopted such a line of conduct the occupancy ryots would probably withhold the illegal cesses, which, wherever they are not a black-mail levied by violence, are payments made in consideration for the observance by the lord of the manor of such of the customary privileges of the cultivators as are not yet protected by law. Whatever be the explanation, the fact is beyond dispute. At present the tenants-at-will pay only the same rate as the privileged ryots, about one third of the rack-rent. But would this state of things continue if we were to enact that the rent of the minority should regulate that of the majority, instead of being itself fixed by the more general custom? If we were to decide that the rate of the large body of occupancy ryots should be assessed according to that of the few and scattered leaseholders—there can be but one answer to these questions. If the landlords do not care to crush a few poor men with exceptional charges, they certainly entertain a strong and natural desire to get a general rise in the rent rates. To secure this end they will take every necessary measure. A proposal somewhat similar to that before us, was met at a recent debate in Council by the observation, that it would encourage landlords to give tenants-at-will collusive leases, not with the intention of collecting at the rate indicated, but to make evidence against occupancy ryots. This suggestion was thrown out by men who knew the country, and is founded on well-known facts recently proved. The reply was, that the Courts would detect the fraud, and the practise would thus be stopped. Granting that this would be so, the result would be that, the Zemindars instead of merely pretending to rack-rent the tenants at-will, would consider it necessary to rack-rent them in cruel earnest. Thus the lowest class would find itself subjected to the highest possible charges, simply because the rate it paid had been selected as a standard for assessing others. We must add that the tenants-at-will are a body rapidly increasing in numbers at the expense of the more favoured order. In 1859 it consisted exclusively of those who

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had been less than twelve years in possession of their holdings, and of a few leaseholders. To these are now added "the stipulators," that is those who have contracted themselves out of the benefits of the Act. It is the rule on many estates to take from all new tenants an agreement that they shall not acquire occupancy rights, and wherever this practise is adhered to, the privileged class must ultimately die out. A measure like the present, which would lead to a sharp and defined line being drawn between the two divisions of ryots, would make landlords more careful to provide against the growth of adverse interests on their estates, and thus hasten the process which is leading to the extinction of customary tenures. We thus arrive at the conclusion that the first effect of the proposed measure would be to subject a small, but increasing body of cultivators to the full competition rent rate.

Now there is good reason to suspect that in Bengal a competition rent does not very much differ from a starvation rent. The density of the population is greater than in any other part of the world where a census has been taken: 321 to the square mile on the whole including the hill tracts, 600 in many districts, 1,000 in some purely agricultural divisions of Hooghly. Vast as they already are these masses are rapidly increasing. Births go on at the old rate, while the number of deaths has been diminished by the cessation of the scourges of war and famine, the mitigation of some other causes of mortality, such as infanticide, and the ravages of wild beasts. If the amount of employment other than agricultural has been increased in some directions it has diminished in others; all our domestic industries having been superseded by the competition of foreign manufacturers. The pressure of the population on the land is great, and it grows in intensity. There are more cultivators than available holdings; every village has its outsiders, its expectants, who want land, but cannot get it. These men have to support themselves on wages not sufficient to maintain a family in a supply of wholesome food.—about two-pence farthing a day in the interior. Even now they sometimes take farms on the Burgait or Metayer system, receiving the seed, and giving half the crop, a division which leaves the cultivator almost a pauper. Under a system of competition these hungry cottiers would bid against each other, until the rent was raised to the highest level at which it can remain in any country,—that which leaves the cultivator in ordinary seasons the bare necessities of life.

It is unfortunately necessary to consider this subject of tenant-right in connexion with that of famine. The partial failure of the crop in a district of Behar formed the subject of an official enquiry held during the cold season of the current year.



The result showed that the loss was not very serious, and that it would not, in most parts of India, have been considered to justify measures of Government relief; but it was found that in this particular place a bad land system prevailed, and owing to its results, and other causes, the ryots had become so impoverished, that our intervention was necessary. Some of our readers may remember an incident which happened in Nadiya at the commencement of the administration of Sir George Campbell, which should be considered side by side with this occurrence in Behar. The crop of a large tract of country was altogether destroyed by flood, and the Lieutenant-Governor went to the spot to offer assistance. He found that the loss had been enormous, but that the people were so well-to-do and self-reliant, that they could support it without Government help. For in Nadiya the rent rates of the old Rajah were very low, the attempts of new purchasers to raise them have resulted only in the moderate enhancement permitted by our law, and all efforts at illegal extortion must have been unprofitable under a regime such as that of the exceptionally able and honest officers who have succeeded each other as Chief Magistrates of Krishnagar. Now we say that if the new law is to call into existence a large class of ryots over the whole country, as much impoverished as those of the Dharbanga estate, our famine prospects will be gloomy indeed. The peasants will not be able to save up anything in ordinary years as a provision against bad times. Every scarcity will find them without either means or credit, and will throw them in hundreds of thousands upon our hands.

As to the occupancy ryots themselves, we believe that the allowance of 20 per cent. of the rack-rent is insufficient to be of substantial benefit to them. The ordinary cottier holds about two acres, for which he pays ten shillings a year, the competition value of the farm being one pound ten. He can thus lay by twenty shillings, and if he has not done so, he can borrow during a scarcity on the credit of his ability to pay. Under the proposed system he would have but six shillings profit, a sum not large enough to be of much use.

It is well to look at the economical action of the proposed measure from another point of view. The object of the Bill is the enhancement of rent, that is, an increase in the amount of money yearly transferred from the cultivators of Bengal to the superior tenure-holders.

Now it is the ryots who have made this province what it is. They cleared the dense jungle which once covered the face of the country; it is by them that its trees have been planted, its wells sunk, its gardens enclosed. The Zemindars have no interest in carrying out such works on the occupancy tenures, and they

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neglect to do so on their private estates and on the farms of their tenants-at-will. On this point we will quote the best authority, that of a Native Judge of the High Court. "In Bengal," he says, "an advance by a landlord to improve his estates is a thing unfortunately a mere contingency, written in the books of law, but not yet practically realised." Now we must look for future improvement to the agency which has effected it in the past. The ryots have produced our present prosperity, such as it is; they alone are likely to contribute to its increase. On occupancy holdings, at least, it would be foolish to expect that any person except the tenure-holder should ever contribute to the improvement of the soil. The farmer alone can profit by any increase in its value. The Zemindar is a mere rent charger, entitled to receive a rent regulated by fixed rules, and such he must always remain. Sir Richard Temple's scheme would not alter his position in this respect, though it would increase his income; whether his dues are assessed at a percentage of the rate paid by tenants-at-will, or on the system of proportion, he is equally destitute of all interest in the improvement of the land; we have said that the Bill would transfer six hundred millions worth of property from the ryots to the Zemindars. We have now to add that this sum would pass from the productive to the non-productive class of the community, from those who spend a part of what they get on developing the resources of the country by improving its land, to men who employ their income in other ways. Such a change could not but be injurious to the cause of economic progress. We say this without meaning to imply that the Zemindars make a bad or a wasteful use of their money. On the contrary: we believe that they are as a body charitable and thrifty, and that, where their means permit, they keep up a judicious and suitable dignity, which is creditable to themselves and pleasing to all classes, including that of the cultivators. We would be glad to see increased, in any legitimate manner, the incomes which they dispense with such discretion: we only assert that their expenditure does not take that particular form which political economists call productive.

No reason is more frequently assigned for changing the present rule of proportion in enhancement, than an alleged difficulty in working it. In order to carry out, says the Minute, "it becomes necessary to determine judicially the amount and value of the produce, not only at the present time, but at some antecedent time." This, it is suggested, is a task beyond the power of the plaintiff to prove. The obligation to give evidence of a matter so complicated is heavier than he can bear, and it should now be removed from his shoulders.

We have not far to seek for the origin of the impression that



it is very hard to prove the facts necessary to obtain a decree for enhancement under the rule of proportion. The value of the crop of Bengal has certainly increased of late years, as may be seen from the official price current returns; but, as we learn from the road-cess figures, when compared with the old records, the rent has risen in a still greater ratio. This enhancement has generally been effected by private agreement between the parties, the ryots being willing to yield to any demand which rests on a legal ground, and is not repugnant to their customs. It has thus come to pass that the Zemindars have obtained quietly, and without the expense of litigation, all that they have any right to; indeed the more pushing and active among them, those who are now the most clamorous for a new law, have managed to extract rather more than their fair share. While on this point we will trouble the reader with a few figures taken from the records of the Perpetual Settlement, and from the Road Cess returns. In 1797 the rent-roll of Bengal was £2,514,600. The collections made on the same lands is now about £16,500,000, therefore the rent paid by the cultivators has been quadrupled. But this does not measure the gains of the landlord. In 1799 the revenue assessment amounted to £2,860,000, so that only a quarter of a million remained to the Zemindars as profit, a bare commission of ten per cent. on the land-tax as a consideration for the trouble and responsibility of collection. The revenue is now, in those districts, £7,520,000; the landlords share is seven millions. Thus the income of the superior tenure-holders has been increased twenty-eight fold during the present century. This good fortune, which has come to the Zemindars unearned and unexpected, is without parallel in any part of Her Majesty's dominions, European or Asiatic, perhaps, we might, add Colonial. We congratulate those who have invested their money in the purchase of land on the rapidity with which their wealth has increased, or the ease and the completeness with which they have obtained what they bought; a right to an enhancement of rent proportionate to the rise in the value of agricultural produce. But having already got all that they are entitled to in the present state of the market, they must not ask that the law should be changed in order that they should get that to which they have no equitable claim,—what is the property of their poorer neighbours. For a further increase of income they must await the result of the improvements still going forward. They must not insist upon grasping too much at once. Above all, let us understand what they mean when they say it is impossible to work the rule of proportion. It is that they have already got all that they can ask under it, and that it is, therefore, impossible to work it just now to their own advantage. Their complaint is that of the Bombay tradesman who objected to the



Small Cause Courts, as of no use to him, because he had been paid what was justly his due, and no Judge would give him a decree for more.

We have high authority for stating that a landlord has no practical difficulty in obtaining any enhancement to which he may be really entitled under the rule of proportion. The opinion of the fifteen Judges who considered the Thakooranee case was on this point unanimous. "I do not," said Mr. Justice Trevor, in disposing of the objection when put by an advocate, "see any necessity for the supposed difficulties. A Zemindar, on suing to enhance, must state the grounds on which he desires enhancement. If his claim be founded on the increase in the value of the produce through a simple rise in prices, he will, whatever the mode of adjustment determined on, have to state the circumstances leading to the demand, and he will have to inform the Court of the particular rise of prices subsequent to the last adjustment which justifies the demand. In stating this he will give the Court sufficient data for the formula laid down." Loch, Bayley, Jackson, and Glover, J. J's, concurred in this judgment. Macpherson J. said, "let the Zemindar seeking to enhance the rent go back to any year he chooses; let him go back to the last adjustment if he can, if he can not to any year that will suit his purpose, and let him prove that the proportion was then more favorable to him than it has since become." Campbell J., (now Sir George) put every difficult case that could arise under the rule of proportion, and showed how each could be disposed of. Pundit J., the only native then on the bench, stated decisively that, "in adopting the rule of proportion we have not to make any difficult enquiries. The value of agricultural produce is a matter almost within the personal knowledge of the generality of the villagers, and there are many very satisfactory records shewing what it was for years past." Seton Karr, J. said, "I believe that materials exist for this enquiry, that there are men in every haut, gunge, and bazaar in the country, who can supply such information." Kemp J. added, "the theory is one of easy application." Steer J. remarked that it was "certainly most simple." Sir Barnes Peacock, while putting every objection which he thought could fairly be urged against the rule, declined to adopt the suggestion, that it would not work easily. Where is the evidence which is to be placed against that of these Judges; men of learning, of experience, of tried impartiality? We have never heard quoted the opinion of a single man who, having tried to enforce the rule of proportion, had found any difficulty in doing so.

As this is not a matter to be decided altogether on authority, we will consider it briefly for ourselves. The rent of an occupancy tenure is subject from time to time to re-adjustment in proportion



to any increase or decrease which may occur in the average value of the crop, otherwise than by the improvements effected at the expense of the tenant: and the question at issue is, can this rule be worked? Now the most ordinary cause of such a change is a rise in prices. This is a movement which has for half a century gone on over the whole of India, we might say over the civilized world; there is everywhere a steady, though not a uniform increase in the cost of all agricultural products. In particular neighbourhoods, where new markets have been opened up by railways and roads, the rise is marked in a special manner. Now the history of prices is a matter of public notoriety, which may be easily proved by the records of the Secretariat, of the Board of Revenue, of every collectorate, and of many dealers in country produce. In an authority no less accessible to Zemindars than their own organ, the *Hindu Patriot*, we have seen a sketch of the rise of prices in the town which is the centre of the estates where the most serious enhancement suits have occurred; it was detailed, and apparently taken from sources which would have been considered authentic in any Court. Nothing can be easier than for a landlord to prove an alteration in the average price of grain, and this done in one case, a precedent is established, which, in practice, is good for a whole district. And our courts require no more than this. It is a mistake to say that a landlord must prove "*amount and value of the produce*" in order to obtain a decree. He has only to show that a rise in prices has occurred, and he will get a proportionate enhancement, unless the tenant can establish some defence, such as the usual one, that there has already been a proportionate increase in the rent.

The Minute suggests that the matter becomes more difficult when the crop has been changed, where the land which was sown with rice in the old days, is now covered by jute or linseed. This does indeed appear a complication, but the objection disappears when considered more closely. There is in Bengal no land which produces jute and linseed exclusively. The demand for these staples is limited, the supply of soil well adapted for their growth is enormous, almost any rice land is suited for the purpose. It follows, that no farmers have a monopoly of the cultivation of jute and linseed, and from this again we infer that no unusual or extraordinary profit can be made by raising them; for if there was much to be gained by so doing, others would sow these new crops, and the quantity produced would be increased until all lands fit for the purpose had been exhausted, or the excessive supply had reduced their prices. We all know that in the case of jute, great profits did lead to over-production, reaction in the market, a fall in prices, contraction of the area of cultivation, and loss to the farmers, all in the usual course, and as those acquainted with commercial



affairs predicted beforehand, things have now found their level, and the profits of jute cultivation are the same as those of the growers of rice. The price of the latter staple has been raised by the introduction of the fibre as the quantity of land on which rice is grown has been reduced, and the supply diminished. And this rise in the price of rice, measures with perfect accuracy the increase in the gross value of his crop, gained by the cultivators generally. The landlords have, therefore, to prove the history of the price of rice only, in order to establish a claim for proportionate enhancement. The theory that they are entitled to more than this on the ground that exceptional profit can, on the average, be made by growing a new crop, such as jute or linseed, will be rejected by every one acquainted with the facts of the case and the accepted truths of political economy.

The Zemindar has a right to enhancement if the quantity of the crop produced has increased, just as he has when its price has risen. But cases of this sort are exceptional, not like those to which we have previously referred, the inevitable effect of causes always at work. In general, land does not improve independent of human agency. Left to itself it runs into jungle; tilled year by year it, at best, retains its original fertility. The only land in Bengal which is known to improve spontaneously is that newly formed by the accretion of our great rivers. This runs through a familiar course, being at first mere sand, and becoming in time like the rest of the country, which has been all created by such deposits. The problem of the assessment of such land, where it is held under occupancy tenure, is solved by the second rule of enhancement,—by making the rate the same as that paid for soil of the class into which it has passed. This is a regular custom, fair in itself, and objected to by neither party. If, as the native puts it, your *chur* land has become *asul*, you must pay *asul* rates. Thus the difficulty of an enquiry into the amount of the produce has never become necessary in any one instance.

We might, indeed, put imaginary cases in which the application of the rule of proportion would tax the ingenuity and patience of the best judge. The introduction of the culture of tea has given an exceptional value to land in the few places suited for such gardens, the slopes of the Himalayas, and the Terai at its foot. Some people hope that Carolina seed may be substituted for our own,—and that the quantity of rice grown in the country may be thus increased. But the tea-gardens have not been made on occupancy tenures, and the fine American rice has not, as yet, superseded that of Bengal. It will be time enough to deal with such difficulties when they arise. At the worst, it would not be impossible to make the calculation in its entirety, to ascertain the value of the former crop and of that substituted in its stead.



But if the objection of a practical difficulty in its working does not lie against the rule of proportion, it certainly tells with great force against the system to be established by the new Bill. The standard of assessment set up by that measure is "the average rate paid by non-occupancy ryots in the district or part of a district." The difficulty of finding out what this average may be, will be understood by those officers who have had to make similar inquiries, under the provision of the present law, which enables a Zemindar to enhance the rent of an individual to the prevalent rate for ryots of the same class in places adjacent. Every step in such an enquiry is beset with snares. We will pass over the ambiguity of the phrase "district or part of a district," and suppose that the law, as amended, may indicate clearly what is the tract of country to be taken as the area of comparison. This being known, the person who has to calculate the average must begin by separating the few non-occupancy ryots, whose rent-rate is to be the standard, from the mass of privileged tenants. This will be no easy task, as the *status* of ryots is generally disputed, and the question cannot be raised without creating a war of classes. The next thing to be done is to classify the lands of the tenants who are found to possess no rights, for we presume that it is only lands of equal value to those in dispute which can be taken as a criterion for fixing the rate. The rent given for a fertile field near a market would not be selected as an indication of that which should be assessed on a patch of sand near a malarious swamp. This survey completed, the rent paid for the different qualities of land by the tenants-at-will should be ascertained with precision. In doing so, evidence would have to be closely sifted and compared. It cannot be assumed that rent is correctly stated in leases, as we have been told in Council that the Zemindars would execute collusive deeds in order to effect the apparent rate; nor that the collections shewn in account books are accurate, as it has been proved that, in Eastern Bengal, these are often falsified on a large scale, and for a number of years, with the same object.

The Minute seems to accept the position that the rule it would introduce is hard to work. At least on no other ground can we explain the confiscation by the Bill of the ryots present right under Act of 1859, to have his old rent considered fair and equitable until the contrary is proved; a privilege of great practical importance. At present the law requires that the Zemindar seeking an enhancement shall prove the facts which may entitle him to it; the whole *onus probandi* is on his shoulders. The Bill would make it the duty of the Judge to establish the plaintiff's case for him. Our judicial officers of all grades possess the confidence of the people, and in particular of the cultivators;



but we fear that if the new system is introduced, they may soon become odious. A Judge who steps down from his seat, and goes about the country, enquiring into the status of one ryot, and the rent paid by another, in order to treble the customary dues of a third, runs the risk of being confounded with the agents of rack-renting landlords. That is not the position in which we would wish to present our officers to the peasantry. Nor will the position be improved if the Courts avail themselves of the power left to them of delegating the invidious task to the Collector. It is not the policy of Government to perform for landlords the unpopular work of raising customary rates, and to establish for this purpose a system of perpetual and inquisitorial surveys.

It is anticipated that even the Collector may be unable to find out the average in question, and in that case the rent is to be enhanced until it is equal to the value of a particular fraction of the gross produce—three twentieths. It seems hard on the ryot that he is never to escape, that if one rule fails against him another should be brought up as a reserve. As to the principle of fixing rent at a fraction of the crop, irrespective of customary rights, of the quality of the soil, and of the nature of the plant grown, it is that adopted by barbarians when, on first emerging from the nomad state, they commence a kind of agriculture. As soon as a degree of civilization, such as that of the most backward Mahratta Principalities, has been attained, modifications are introduced. Sindia and Holkar could inform the Bengal Council that they find it necessary to vary the share of the State in the produce according to the class of soil, and to the value of the crop. Tobacco, pan, and tea could not be cultivated if the large sum represented by three-twentieths of their price had to be given as rent, and the sandy churs of Bengal could not bear such an assessment; though, on some rice lands the rack-rent is three times as great. The reader will be surprised to find a process too savage for Indore offered to Bengal as an improvement. He will be tempted to ask whether any other antedeluvian institutions are to be dis-interred from their graves, and presented to us as living principles of the greatest importance?

Speaking for the ryots, if we may be allowed to do so, and not without knowledge of their wishes, we can say that they would like to see the present law rendered even more precise. The landlord has a right to an enhancement proportionate to the rise in the value of grain: it would be well to settle what markets should be accepted as the standard for this estimate, and over how many years it should extend. We can claim to raise the rate of an individual to that prevalent in "places adjacent:" the tenants would wish to know beforehand, what places are to



be considered adjacent within the meaning of this section. They have no object in maintaining a state of doubt on any point, in provoking those conflicts, in which it is the last rupee that wins. A legislator who thus defined and confirmed the present rights of both parties would meet with the approbation given by the peasants to the Magistrate, who sets up land-marks, thus preventing the uncertainty which gives an excuse for encroachment to the strong. That ruler would excite a very different sentiment who, on pretence that there was some difficulty in fixing its boundary, confiscated a poor man's field, giving him in its stead a patch of land less valuable in another place, where the limits were still less defined. As to whether the Zemindars would be glad to exchange the chance of invading the rights of others for greater security in their own, we cannot speak with such confidence. Just at present we fear, that elated by the prospects held out to them in this Bill, they would oppose any measure designed to confirm existing institutions. We merely mean to observe that, as far as the ryots are concerned, there is no objection to precision, and that where the present law is wanting in that quality, it could be amended without any change of principle, and without danger of popular discontent.

One of the objects of the Bill is to prevent agrarian disturbances by removing all cause of dispute. The reader may judge how far this effect is likely to result from a measure which substitutes for the old and simple rule of proportion, a standard of assessment so novel and uncertain as the average rate paid by tenants-at-will in the District or part of the District. We have here to recall the fact that the disputes referred to, did not relate to any question which could not have been settled by the most simple law of enhancement. They were caused by our neglect of a simple precaution, which experience has shown to be necessary all over India, which has been adopted in every other province, and was formerly enforced with great strictness in Bengal. We allude to the registration of all transactions effecting the rent rate. Everyone knows that the amount of the dues to be paid by the cultivators should be a matter of public record. The natives have a disposition to complicate their accounts with tenants by legal, illegal, and quasi-legal cesses, to set up false claims, and deny true ones, which renders it impossible to preserve order. Unless we insist on the observation of some method in such transactions, we must either have a system of registration, or confusion and doubt. While we have no great liking for either of these alternatives, we prefer the former. Unfortunately, in 1857, the law which imposed a penalty for the neglect of registration was repealed, while the provision declaring it a duty, was left in force. Changes may now be effected in the rent-rate by a verbal agreement between the Zemindar and a bare



majority of the ryots, and it is in this way that enhancements have in practise been effected, so that the present assessment is the result of several such unauthenticated alterations. In cases of dispute it is now difficult to ascertain, not, as some suppose, what the rent may be raised to, but what it in fact has been and is. The landlords allege that a particular rate is in force, having been introduced in such a year, by the consent of the ryots, and having since regulated all payments; and if asked for evidence in support of this assertion, they produce their rent-roll and their accounts, summoning also their servants as witnesses.

The ryots reply that they always refused to agree to any enhancement, that the alleged contract is a fiction, the accounts forgeries, and the clerks perjured. The Courts sometimes find that the statements of the tenants, improbable as they may seem to persons unfamiliar with such transactions, are perfectly true, while in other cases it turns out that it is the ryots themselves who are trying to deceive. It is this attempt of Zemindars to cheat by false accounts, that has led to breaches of the peace in Eastern Bengal; or at least that cause combined with the readiness of the ryots to dispute the accuracy of accounts, which were kept regularly and in a business-like manner. Attempts to enhance the rent, unaccompanied by such conspiracies to deceive, have never occasioned any tumult, and there is no reason to suppose that they will have such an effect at any future period. The remedy for the evil is obvious. We should introduce the system of registration now prevalent in the other presidencies. It will not enable us to escape the bad effect of our neglect in the past, but in time it will establish a record of all rights. The returns under the Road Cess Act are a step in this direction, but as they are *ex parte* records, and are evidence only against the person who makes them, they are not of much value by themselves. The Bill before us neglects to make any provision whatever for the registration of enhancements. It does not even touch the part of our system which is really out of order. The disturbances which suggested some change in the law are thus taken as the occasion of legislation in the interest of the superior as against the inferior tenure-holder, on a point altogether unconnected with the question at issue. We might, if we chose, do a great deal to prevent disputes by merely adopting the imperial and the old Bengal policy on a minor matter of procedure; but we prefer to fly off at a tangent, and to effect a radical change in a part of our substantive law, which had no connection with the cause of any disturbance.

The examples of the Punjab and of Oudh have been quoted in the Minute as precedents for taking the rent-rate of the tenants-at-will as the standard for fixing that of the occupancy tenure-holders; and there has been added, apparently through some



misapprehension as to the existing law in that part of India, a reference to the North-West. In the province with the administration of which Sir Richard Temple was once so honourably connected, our policy has always been fair and consistent. We never withdrew privileges once acknowledged, or confiscated the property declared by a Court of Justice to belong to any man. We first held an intelligent inquiry into the respective rights of different classes in the land, and these ascertained we confirmed and upheld them. The system now in force in the Punjab appears excellent in itself, however much it might be out of place at this opposite extremity of India. The cultivators have been very generally acknowledged as proprietors, either individually, or in village groups. Where privileged under-tenants exist, these have been divided into three classes, of which the highest holds at one-half the competition rate, not at the four-fifths of the same sum assigned to their fellows under the proposed Bill. All this is well enough, where it forms part of the traditional law of a country; but they are not institutions for which we should sacrifice existing rights of property. Sir John Lawrence, the founder of the Punjab School, would have been the first to oppose the confiscation of the property of tenants, whether to please the landlords, or to introduce some shreds and patches of a system established in a different country.

In Oudh we have certainly done exactly what the Zemindars wish us to do in Bengal, and it is a true instinct which leads them to recur to that example. We first acknowledged that the cultivators possessed a valuable interest in the soil, and concluded a settlement with them on that basis; after a little time we cancelled our agreements, and confiscated their property, giving to them in its stead a pittance of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on the rack-rent. This act we did, but as a necessity of war, and a punishment for rebellion. Lord Canning declared all lands in Oudh confiscated, by a proclamation published during the height of the mutiny. Afterwards as each chief submitted, grants were made to him of certain lands, to the exclusion of the peasant proprietors. This was what General Barrow calls the settlement made on the battle-field, and it is certainly very unlike any arrangement which a ruler would have concluded during peace. We will not quote the reproof administered to Lord Canning for this spoliation, by the then Secretary of State for India, or the more measured condemnation of the Duke of Argyll, and the summary of the facts by Mr. Mill. We will assume that after a rebellion it may be right and politic to withdraw from a settlement made with the cultivators, and to hand them over to the military chiefs who had headed the insurgents. But does it follow that we should use the same violence in times of profound peace? That we should involve the loyal peasantry



of Bengal in the ruin which in 1857 overtook the rebels of Oudh ? It would be as reasonable to excite the soldiers of the garrison to sack Calcutta next Sunday, on the ground that Delhi was looted after it had been taken by storm. It is one of the evils of civil war, that while it lasts, little respect is paid to the rights of property, whether real or personal. But when peace is re-established, the habits acquired in less happy times should be abandoned. We should beware of any man who asks us, in our legislative capacity, to imitate the conduct of those Spanish soldiers, who, having been guerillas during the Peninsular campaign, became robbers after the conclusion of the treaty of Paris.

It is sometimes said that a Government such as ours cannot deal with the masses directly. It can act only through a native aristocracy, and should therefore endeavour to secure the affections of the owners of land ! And we may properly effect this object, it is inferred, by transferring to that body property which at present belongs to the cultivators. Such sentiments appear to us to be as mistaken as ungenerous. The attachment of any body of natives must be useful : that of the more intelligent classes is particularly pleasing, when it is gained by honourable means. But we would only injure our position if we condescended to court any interest by dishonestly sacrificing to it, the rights of others. A great General has remarked, that in India, England requires but three things to render her power lasting ; justice, rupees, and bayonets. It would be a poor policy to sacrifice the first of these titles to supremacy, in order to gain a fourth of doubtful value, such loyalty as is left to the plunderer by those who have received a share in the booty. Lord Lawrence took a broader view when he wrote : " It is on the well-being and content of the people of the soil that peace and order in India mainly depend. They are the sinews and marrow of the physical force of the country, and no policy which does not tend to the improvement of their condition will, in the long run, prove advantageous to our rule. If they are prosperous the military force may be small, but not otherwise." It is fortunate for the country that the author of this passage had the opportunity of giving a fair trial to his theory as to the best way of making a land policy strengthen the political position of an Indian ruler. He settled the Punjab on a popular basis, and he trusted the cultivators : the result was seen when the Punjabis marched to besiege Delhi for us, and to re-conquer Oudh.

We do not wish to dwell very long upon this point, as it is of less importance in Lower Bengal than elsewhere. But we must say, that the sudden doubling and trebling, through the Courts, of a rent hitherto fixed by custom necessarily creates disaffection. The fact that this is done by a new law, on a principle hitherto unheard of, and, as Mr. Seton-Karr says of competition, " abhorrent



to the temperament, social habits, and attachment to the soil which distinguish the agriculturalists of India," will not tend to prevent such an unfortunate result. It is true that discontent is not as formidable here as elsewhere. Still, we must remember that in Lower Bengal, the Wahabee movement spread only among those who were dissatisfied at the enhancement of rent, so much so, that a late Commissioner of Dacca, of a turn of mind rather practical than scientific, used the words *Ferazi* (Mahammadan Puritan) in the sense of a litigious tenant. There are fanatical preachers ready to take advantage of the sentiments produced by a law bearing hardly on the cultivators. And we must acknowledge that in the present state of feeling in Asia, an attack from this quarter would be, to say the least of it, embarrassing.

It may be asked whether, in objecting to Sir Richard Temple's proposal, we have any other to offer in its place? We have indicated some amendments which might be advantageously made on the present law; and to two of these, the registration of changes in rent rates, and the explanation of the words, "places adjacent," we venture to attach importance. These are reforms which have been effected in other Provinces, and will sooner or later be found necessary in Bengal. Moreover, we think that non-occupancy tenants should on eviction be entitled to compensation for their unexhausted improvements, a principle recently acknowledged in the North-West. And there are other points suggested by the experience of eighteen years which should be considered, if the Act of 1859 is to be amended. We do not, however, think the present moment opportune for such legislation. It has been found that Government measures affecting the landlord and tenant question are always altered in the interest of the higher class as they pass through Council. Thus the draft of Act X. of 1859 was changed so as to diminish the number of ryots entitled to rights of occupancy, and to impose on such tenure-holders a new liability in the shape of a third ground for the enhancement of rent. The law recently passed in the North-West Provinces was framed in order to make a rent fixed by the revenue officer, permanent during the whole period of settlement, and thus altogether to prevent enhancement, except at long intervals. In Council it was amended so that the privileged ryot's rent may now be raised every ten years. The influence which produced these results on the action of Government is now paramount in the Bengal Council. This was proved by the fate of the Agrarian Disturbances Bill. It was intended to provide an exceptional machinery for deciding rent cases in disturbed villages, leaving the rights of the parties untouched. An amendment was proposed to the effect, that in such localities the substantive law of enhancement should be changed, and this was carried and incorporated with the Act, against the votes of



the majority of the Government Members. The rules framed to supplement that of proportion in these villages are improperly so called. They are a charter of unrestricted license, leaving it to the discretion of revenue officers to enhance the quit-rent on any principle, and to any extent. When we see a moderate and useful measure so transformed by the Council, we lose all confidence in it as a tribunal for deciding upon the law of landlord and tenant. The best thing it can do with that question is to let it alone. We are not in any urgent need of change, things are working fairly; there are no land complaints. The time may come when the legislature is prepared to approach such subjects in an impartial and enlightened spirit, with a desire to define and enforce existing rights, rather than to confiscate them. Until that hour arrives we had best remain as we are.

We have re-stated, as clearly as we could, all the arguments advanced in favor of the Bill; and we have not been deterred by the respect in which its authors are justly held, on account of distinction fairly earned in many fields, from putting the objections to it in the plainest and the strongest words. The conclusion appears to be, that the proposed measure is at once unjust and inexpedient. Unjust, in as much as it purports to take property of great value in the aggregate, and now divided among some millions of owners, from those who before the supreme judicial tribunal of the land have established a valid title to retain it, and who have since held it for many years, buying and selling, transmitting and inheriting it among themselves, under the sanction of our laws, and the protection of our Government. Inexpedient, because it is designed to transfer a great revenue from the productive to the non-productive classes, from those who need it as an insurance against famine, to men who are never likely to require State relief in any scarcity: also, because it would create confusion and litigation, agrarian discontent, and political disaffection. The proposal would never have been made were it not that one of the parties interested has the power to make itself heard exclusively, and has for years repeated its perversion of history, its mis-statements of the existing law, and its mis-representations of current events, until they have obtained implicit credit, and are taken as undisputed not only by the general public, but even by many persons who are well informed on such subjects, and sincerely desire to be impartial. We wish we could put aside the delusions they created, as a screen that conceals from us the view behind: but perhaps they should rather be regarded as the mist through which the breeze makes a reef for a moment only, until it closes again, hiding from the pilot the rock upon which he is steering.

P. N.



**ART. VII.—THE NATIVE NEWSPAPERS OF INDIA AND CEYLON.**

Prometheus being reconciled with Jove,  
The old Titan took the liberal leadership  
Of that Olympian Government which he  
(The first great popular incendiary)  
Had long denounced from the Caucasian cold  
Of opposition. And, perceiving soon  
That, though the Monarch of Olympus ruled  
By right divine, he was not indisposed  
To let himself be popularly famed.  
The father of his subjects, the adroit  
Intriguing Titan thus to Jove appealed :  
"Monarch of gods and mortals, live for ever !  
Stay not thy steps in the well-enter'd path  
Of progress. [India's] mute multitudes behold :  
Read in the language of their longing eyes  
The passionate petition of the dumb :  
And to life's thousand inarticulate thoughts,  
Emotions, faculties, and sentiments,  
Grant the yet-wanted, all-completing, gift  
Without which life is valueless—a voice !"  
But Jove, mistrustful, answer'd. "To what end ?"  
"No end of ends !" The Titan cried, "Each end  
A fresh beginning. Voice will lead to speech,  
Speech to intelligence, intelligence  
To liberty," . . . . . "And liberty to what ?"  
Mocking his Minister, the Monarch ask'd,  
Impatient of reply. "Let none be led  
To dream of taking liberties with me !  
Restless, impulsive old philanthropist,  
Thy talk smacks revolutionary still."  
"Still" said Prometheus, sullenly. "Why not ?  
From revolutionary sources rose  
The power I serve : and what wert thou thyself  
Without the Revolution, Son of Time ?"

. . . . . "Living force  
In all that lives I seek, and, where I find,  
I love and serve it. Let the poorest germ  
That strives with uncongenial circumstance  
But show me beating in its breast one pulse  
Of pregnant life, it shall not lack mine aid  
To grow and strengthen,—ay, and overcome !"  
—*The Liberty of the Press.*—By Lord Lytton, Governor General  
of India.

**I.**

It should not, perhaps, be a matter of surprise, though it is certainly of regret, that in a question of such recent occurrence as the establishment of the Native Press of India, discrepant accounts have already appeared as to whom the honour



belonged of founding this potent means of representing and influencing opinion. Incorrect statements have appeared, and a claim for the honour has been founded on the fact that, in 1830, an officer of the Indian Medical Service, Dr. John Henderson, with the aid of an old Stanhope Press and a fount of type, published an advertising sheet, the *avant-courieur* of the *Agra Akhbar*, which was held to be the first native newspaper published in India. It may have been the premier vernacular sheet of the North-West Provinces, but it was certainly not the first Native Newspaper in the land. Twelve years prior to Dr. Henderson's praiseworthy effort the Serampore Missionaries (notably Dr. Marshman) added a further obligation to the already great debt which India owed to their unwavering labours, an obligation which is not unlikely in its far-reaching influence and possible expansion to be equal to any of the great efforts which have emanated from that home of large enterprises,—the Danish settlement of Serampore. On the 23rd of May, 1818, the first vernacular newspaper of India was published. The *Darpan* (Mirror) was printed at Serampore, and the Marquis of Hastings, then Governor-General, hailed its appearance as an omen of good. Not contenting himself with writing a letter to the projectors expressing his entire approval of the enterprise initiated and of the journal itself, the Viceroy went farther, subscribed in the name of the Government for a considerable number of copies, and had them sent to the different native Courts.\* The Marquis gave utterance to a sentiment which it would be assuring to hear repeated in these days from those similarly high in authority in this land, when it is proposed, in some quarters in India, to check the freedom of expression of opinion, and to place a gag upon the native press. He said, "It is salutary for the supreme authority to look to the control of public scrutiny;" it would be well if Lord Lytton would say much the same thing at the present juncture. The utterance of the Marquis of Hastings is an axiom that seems trite and common-place to the English reader, but it was of unwonted import at the time it was spoken, and to the inhabitants of an Eastern land where reverence of State dignities is engrained in the life until it becomes as much a part of existence as breathing, and criticism would, except with bated breath and in a whisper, never be indulged in. Indeed, the story is told of Dr. Henderson's paper, that when, after a few years' tenure of the editorial chair, he gave place to a Muhammadan whom he had trained—not merely to compile news and to make judicious extracts, but also to discuss passing events and express opinions upon proposed or completed acts of the authorities, the people were much

\* Art. "Early Bengali Literature and Newspapers." *Calcutta Review*, 1850.



concerned, and foreboded evil, asking, "Who is this man that he should give his opinion in opposition to the Hakim" (Governor)?

Free discussion of public events, and the consequent establishment of newspapers in which such discussion could take place, was inevitable in India as elsewhere, once British rule was established. In English-populated colonies this is looked upon as a necessary consequence, with the result of a Press strong in influence and not wanting in dignity, and a Censorship of the Press is no more thought of there than in the mother country itself. It was undoubtedly startling, possibly hitherto unheard of, that similar liberty should be granted to subject races, but (a few exceptions notwithstanding) the policy of Britain has been, where practicable, to uplift to her own level in the social scale, the peoples whom she rules. This being the avowed policy, it was not unnaturally supposed that what had been good for the people of England would be suitable for others; consequently the nation has striven to engraft its own freedom of thought and utterance upon social fabrics which appeared to be choked with conservatism and inanition. In India, which particularly concerns us now, it has been held that England has not sufficiently taken into account the fact that there exists a complex civilization, older far, by many centuries, than her own. Following upon this statement it is urged that the attempt to cement the results evolved, may be in a rough and ready fashion, out of the British constitution,—itself the outcome of blundering attempts to satisfy existing wants merely, rather than systematically arranged to meet contingent cases,—with the living customs and iron-bound caste prejudices of "the land of Ind," was equivalent to putting new wine into old bottles with the certain result of the bottles breaking and the wine being spilled: in other words English power overthrown and Indian society disintegrated. But such objectors have overlooked the fact of the common origin of the British (Germanic) and Indian peoples, which establishes beneath the veneer of civilization, a consentaneity of desire for the same processes of social life. To the statesman this fact should be fruitful of encouragement. As has been conclusively shown by Sir Henry Maine, village life as it is at present in India and village life as it was in Europe centuries ago, are identical. Futhermore, actual experiment is showing that Indians have that genius for self-government which the British have looked upon as one of their peculiar appanages, and which perhaps, not wrongly, is held to have a great deal to do with the position the Anglo-Saxon race occupies in the world.\* Not yet ripe for the full measure of Municipal and Parlia-

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\* Another point in which the character and influence, under certain Bengali is in some degree like unto circumstances. More than a generation the Briton, is in individual force of action since the Babus of Bengal



mentary freedom enjoyed by the Aryan of England, the Aryan of India is in that stage whence, from the foundations already existing a superstructure may be reared under which the greatest good of the greatest number shall be obtained through that greatest number, and, intelligently, with its consent. To such a people free utterance of opinion is absolutely necessary; and in leaving unfettered the Press which has now taken firm root in Indian soil, the English rulers of that great Empire, a *congeries* of nations, will be taking the best means of providing for the future thorough well-being of the people. The work, too, of bringing India to the standard of England will be much more rapid than was the similar change from feudalism to freedom in the United Kingdom, but it need not be any the less sure, as there are now the advantages of dearly-bought experience to serve as beacons to warn against dangers which may be avoided, and the means of rapid communication of action and ideas, hitherto unattained and even undreamt of. The desire of the people of India, when they are brought into contact with, and are susceptible to, outside influences, is towards perfect freedom of opinion, and so far as results show, is not likely to be more abused, once it is thoroughly understood, in the case of the Indian than in the experience of the Briton.\* Some measure of abuse there will always be, for to err is human. This point asserted, we may proceed with our notice of the vernacular Press as it exists at this day.

It should not be overlooked, in starting, that the native press of India doubtless owed its birth to the insatiable love of knowledge characteristic of the Bengalees, as great as the curiosity of the Athenians of twenty centuries ago, who daily congregated on the Acropolis to hear the last new thing. Prior to the introduction of the printing press into India, this craving of the people had been ministered to by professional reciters, as is still the case in the remote interior, and not unfrequently in the towns. Contemporaneously with the Serampore *Darpan* was established a magazine

proved this. Of them it was written in 1850:—"The Babus of Calcutta are generally *parvenus*, and have, for the most part, risen from humble circumstances. One of our millionaires began life on a salary of 10 rupees monthly, and the father of another on five." This is now (1877) as characteristic of the Parsees in the West and of the Tamils in the South as it still is of the Bengalis. The present Prime Minister (this is his nominal title, he is virtually ruler) of Baroda, Sir Madhava Rao, began life as a clerk on a small salary in Madras.

\* In the *Calcutta Review* article already alluded to, the writer says:—"There has been far less of personality, railing against Government, scandal, and scurrilous remark in the Native Press of Calcutta than there has been in the Calcutta English journals." Change Calcutta in the foregoing sentence to Indian, let the period extend to the present day, and the remark, without the comparison, still holds good, as will be apparent in the sequel.



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called *Digdasha*, described as "conducted on a plan similar to that of the Penny and Saturday Magazines of England." This was soon after followed by the *Brahmanical Magazine*, edited by the celebrated Ram Mohun Roy. The effect of newspapers and cheap literature generally has been both to purify and enrich the language in which they are printed. Notably is this the case in Bengal. What Dante did for the Italian language, Wiclif and Shakespeare for the English, and Luther for the German, that has the native Press of India done, and is still doing, for the various tongues in which a printed literature has been established. What has been accomplished in Ceylon in this respect, where the Native papers are of comparatively more recent date than in India, a pundit of some position describes in expressing the following opinion in a letter to the present writer. He says :—"Not the least important influence which the paper [*Lakrivi Kirana*] has been exercising on the literature of the land is this. Before the establishment of the paper, the people were quite indifferent respecting the grammar and correct spelling of the language in which their books were printed. Now a standard has been established, which is acknowledged throughout the length and breadth of Ceylon, with a few unimportant differences, which are the products of different schools, and which there is not a disposition yet to give up. Publishers, too, are now more careful about the 'get up' of their works. Prior to the newspaper period the people hated printed books. Printed tracts and such little works they did accept when offered to them it is true, but it was more out of respect to the giver than any thing else. The gifts were neglected and put to useful purposes other than perusal. Now the current has turned in favor of printed books, which are considered more correct than the old manuscripts."

One very striking fact will at once attract the attention of the English reader as he glances over the titles of the vernacular newspapers. Unlike the colourless "Mercury," "Gazette," "Advertiser," "Times," *et hoc genus omne* of the English journals, the Indian delights in most grandiose titles : nothing less than the superlative will satisfy him. This will appear from the annexed list of Bengali papers with their titles translated into English :—

<i>Vernacular.</i>			<i>Translation.</i>
Hitakári	...	...	Helper, or Benefactor.
Banga Bandhu	...	...	Bengal Friend.
Barrahanagar Patrika Samachar	...	...	Barahanagar Fortnightly News.
Dharma Tatwa	...	...	Essence of Religion.
Bama Bodhini Patrika	...	...	Magazine for Enlightening Women.
Suhar Samachar	...	...	Easily-obtainable Newspaper.
Samachar Chandrika	...	...	Moon of News.
Som Prakás	...	...	Manifestor of Moon-[light.]
Utkala Dipika	...	...	Uriya Illuminator.



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Vernacular.	Translation.
Bhagvat Tatwá Bodhiká ...	Manifesting God's Essence.
Chikitsa Darpan ...	Mirror of the Healing Art.
Durbin ...	The Telescope.
Arunodai ...	Dawn of Light.
Hito Shadhini ...	Accomplisher of Welfare.
Assam Bilashini ...	Assam Pleasure Seeker.
Banga Mihir ...	Sun of Bengal.
Rahasya Sandaru ...	A Bundle of Curiosities.
Madhyasta ...	Mediator.
Biswa Darsan ...	Review of the Universe.
Mitra Prakás ...	Manifestation of Friends.
Grambari ...	The Villager.
Santi Prodaini ...	Giver of Peace.
Biswa Duta ...	Messenger of the Universe.
Sarbatha Sanpuhm ...	Compilation of All Valuables.
Prajá Hitaishini ...	Well-wisher of the People.
Abokás Toshini ...	Pleasant Leisure.
Bhagvat Bhakti Prodaini ...	Giver of Faith in God.
Juanákara ...	Mine of News.
Purna Sasi ...	Full Moon.

Dipping into the pages of the journals of which the above may be taken as a fair sample, but especially those extra-metropolitan, or not published in the Presidency towns, the student of history would be struck with the curious ante-19th century air, which seems to pervade their contents. British occupation has yet altered scarcely a single village practice, and its influence is not much felt except on the sea-coast and in the neighbourhood of large towns and cities. In reading these papers one seems to get at the back of existing things, to become *au courant* with a state of life which is now exactly what it was many generations since. The intervening centuries have passed over these villages and have left no formation which cannot be read almost at a glance. The harvest of experience is all contained in the memories of one generation. It is often a subject of complaint with historians that the records to which they have access, tell mainly of the exploits of a daring soldier or of the machinations of a skilled diplomatist, while the daily toiling life of the masses is altogether ignored. It is a fancy of the writer of this paper, born of considerable observation of the matter, that in the contents of the first forty or fifty years of vernacular newspapers in India, whilst European influence upon the village or district was but slight, may be found, by the student who is not scared at a multiplicity of petty details, a state of things described which will enable him to depict with marvellous accuracy the under-current of town and village life, in the days when great and notable epochs of the land's history were occurring. There would be thus supplied a vivid and complete back-ground of interesting facts which would throw much light upon the actions of the indivi-



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duals upon whom historical research has hitherto been engaged, some of whose actions could thus alone be made decipherable.

Before proceeding to review the native newspaper history of each Presidency, it may not be amiss to take a bird's-eye glance over the whole field, for the purpose of comparison (as regards numbers only) with the English newspapers in India, and also to observe the extent of circulation, the (ascertained) influence of the journals upon the people amongst whom they circulate, and by what sections of the community they are read. In 1875\* the following statistical statement, compiled from details obtained from each Presidency, represented the entire Press of India :—

<i>Bengal.</i>			<i>Oudh.</i>		
Vernacular Papers	88	English 49	Vernacular Papers	14	English 3
Anglo-Vernacular „	14		Anglo-Vernacular „	4	
	102			18	
<i>Madras.</i>			<i>Sind.</i>		
Vernacular Papers	26	English 31	Vernacular Papers	3	English 4
Anglo-Vernacular „	32		Anglo-Vernacular „	1	
	58			4	
<i>Bombay.</i>			<i>Rajputana.</i>		
Vernacular Papers	66	English 37	Vernacular Papers	2	English 0
Anglo-Vernacular „	20		Anglo-Vernacular „	1	
	86			3	
<i>North-West Provinces.</i>			<i>British Burmah.</i>		
Vernacular Papers	58	English 13	Vernacular Papers	2	English 14
Anglo-Vernacular „	7				
	65				
<i>Punjab.</i>			<i>Ceylon.</i>		
Vernacular Papers	31	English 7	Vernacular Papers	5	English 5
Anglo-Vernacular „	1		Anglo-Vernacular „	1	
	32			6	
<i>Central Provinces.</i>					
Vernacular Papers	3	English 3			
Anglo-Vernacular „	3				
	6				

This shows 382 Vernacular and Anglo-Vernacular (circulating chiefly among Natives) against 166 English papers. Allowing 400

\* It should be understood that the facts related in this paper were gathered in 1874 and 1875. The writer has, of set purpose, avoided dealing with matters of later date which he has collated and set in order for use, upon which opinion has

been much divided, e.g., the Fuller case and kindred matters. Besides, Dr. Birdwood, before the Society of Arts, London, has lately dealt exhaustively with the papers of the past two years.



subscribers as an average to each of the vernacular papers—(a low average it may be, seeing that the *Lakrivi Kirana*, "Sunbeam of Ceylon," has no fewer than 1600 subscribers, but, on the other hand, the papers in the North-West Provinces in 1871 averaged only 215 each)—the total of a simultaneous issue is 152,800 copies. This may seem a poor result when contrasted with the daily circulation of one London paper only, whose single issue reaches to this height; but it should be borne in mind that a native paper in India has many readers, and the approximate total mentioned would need greatly multiplying to arrive at the number of people by whom these journals are read. In times not yet ancient in England, when newspapers were expensive, two or three or more persons would club together to purchase a paper which passed from hand to hand, and a journal had thus a wider reading constituency than its circulation list alone would seem to indicate. This principle applies to India and Ceylon; and a case, which is but a sample of many, is on record where a single newspaper served a whole village. When the copy was received the people were called together, its contents read, explained, and discussed. Bearing this in mind, the Native Press of India will be found to be no insignificant factor in the social life of the Empire.

Passing over the interesting speculations suggested by the fact, that where English papers most abound, there native papers are large in numbers, we may pass on to notice the people amongst whom they circulate. This point may be succinctly summed up in the remark that the papers are most read by those who most need the help they are able to give. These are the directing, active sections of the population, those who bear the burden and heat of the day in the machinery of social life as distinguished from those who are the actual busy bees working in the hive,—the artisans and the labourers. These latter, in India, are as yet but slightly influenced, except intermediately, by the newspapers. Still the wave of public opinion raised by the journals is not altogether spent and its force quite exhausted before these two great masses of the people are reached. Among the traders, the petty headmen, and those who do business in the Courts, the *Kachcheries* and in the schools, the native newspapers are an acknowledged force, "the terror to evil-doers" such as was desiderated by the Jewish King Solomon amongst a people much like Indians in many respects. How sensitive some of the wealthy and influential people of India are to criticism even of the mildest kind, to take an illustrative incident, was shown a short while since. A correspondent of the *Satyatunkaraya* ("Beauty of Truth"), a Ceylon paper, innocently and in good faith suggested that a well-known and wealthy family did not aid Moratuwa, the village in



which they lived, as they should, and suggested ways in which they could be of service in the District. Such an opinion was not acceptable to the head of the family who at once visited Colombo to seek counsel of the Queen's Advocate, with a view to an action in the Courts, but the Judges were never troubled with the incident. It is, however, as a check upon the rapacity of petty officials that most good has resulted to the people at large from vernacular and Anglo-vernacular papers. Those aggrieved at unjust or illegal conduct on the part of these men—who, in the East, know better, by an exaltation of their office how to “play fantastic tricks before high heaven” than any other people, find that “writing to the paper” is a ready means of stopping these evils. The conductor of a vernacular journal told the writer that he “often received letters from correspondents in many parts of the country, stating that misdemeanours complained of, such as gambling, illicit sales of intoxicating drinks, cattle stealing, cock-fighting, misconduct of unsalaried officials and the like had altogether disappeared through the influence of the press. Moreover some of the officials had come to like to be well spoken of in the papers and to fear their censures.” In Bengal, the Babus of university education are credited, and justly, with being the mainstay of the vigorous press of that Presidency. Native papers there circulate amongst a larger proportion of people who have been educated, who also know something more of the world outside India than do the inhabitants generally of any other part of the continent. Bombay is little inferior to the eastern Presidency in the literary tastes of many of its inhabitants, while the tone of its vernacular papers is at once bolder and more out-spoken in censure of some of the acts of the authorities. This is due partly to the fact that more energy is thrown into the conduct of the English papers in Bombay than in Calcutta; this affects the native prints in arousing the imitative faculties of their conductors. Madras Presidency has, generally, an agrarian population, not much commerce, and not much life. Consequently, its vernacular papers are behind nearly all others in India in number, power, and influence. Respecting the North West Provinces and the Punjab little need be said but what will appear in its proper place.

Of one fact there can be little question, viz., that the Native papers have acquired the confidence of the people with whom they are brought into contact, and what appears in the columns of these journals may be looked upon as an expression of feeling which has behind it a very considerable force. In the West, characteristic of the people, something only a little less than war is declared against the *status quo*; and “the British raj” is occasionally abused in strong terms. On the other hand, in the South and East, a milder influence is exerted, and the attempt is made to

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show that the British mode of ruling through native channels is best calculated to uplift India, and that the best policy for the people is to help the Government to the best of their ability. Each of these races expresses itself by the mode most consonant to its genius, and no more disastrous consequences are to be feared from the outspoken frankness of the Western Indian papers, than from the milder tone of the Bengali and the Madras journals if only substantial justice be done to all by the authorities. Still, when all is said and done, newspaper influence on the masses of India at present is very like the means of cultivation current amongst the agriculturists of the land almost from time immemorial. The mind of the native is merely scratched on its surface just as two or three inches of soil are turned over by the inefficient plough the people use. Save and except this notable fact: the men who are the leaders of the people, are those most strongly influenced by the papers, and they it is who give the *mot d'ordre* by which the masses are moved. Looked at in this light, and in view of the education which is now being formed from high-class training, the Indian Vernacular Press has no inconsiderable power. Indirectly, its effects are mighty: actually it is an infant in whom there is uncommonly great promise,—budding fruit which it will require many years to mature.

An interesting and amusing sketch a few years ago appeared in the *Indian Economist* (a journal then published at Calcutta, aided largely by Government subsidy) on the subject of the Native Press, and by skilfully-garnered and cleverly arranged extracts the author endeavoured to show that through the weapons of sarcasm and misrepresentation as wielded by native journalists British rule is being shaken to its foundations. The freedom accorded to the writers is, it is urged, the cause of this. Much is made of *excerpts* cleverly extracted from the context; and the position is taken that the power given to the people to publish what they will, should be curtailed, and an official paper started to counteract the calumnies of those papers which are left. But this remedy, as has been pointed out, is manifestly absurd, for though an official paper might be ever so well written and widely-circulated the people could not be compelled to read it. While on the other hand, by the very means used would the greatest offenders, that is the cleverest writers, be stirred to attempt, by the hostility displayed, greater things. The opposition of Government would be the very salt of life to a disaffected writer. In the review, according to Presidencies, here subjoined, use will be made to a slight extent of the sketch referred to; but the writer of this paper finds himself compelled to come to conclusions diametrically opposed to those enunciated by Mr. Lely, of the Bombay Civil Service, the writer in the *Indian Economist*.



## II.

## BENGAL.

Bengal, as the birth-place of Indian vernacular newspapers, and as the Presidency in which, perhaps, is most active intellectual life, deserves the first place in any notice of the native press. It is impossible to deal thoroughly with so much as a tithe of the journals tabulated at the end of this section, and, possibly, the fairest way would be to take a batch of papers covering a consecutive period of, say a few weeks, and note the tendencies they evince and the characteristics they display. A batch of about thirty papers for the months of November and December, 1873, when the famine in Behar was impending, now before the writer, seem to form about the fairest sample out of several hundred copies. It is curious to note, from the contents of these journals, that very nearly all the conflicting estimates formed of India by Englishmen, who have never visited the country, but judge it from a distance, by the literature abounding upon it, and the verbal reports they may hear, may be supported. To take one prevalent idea only, to which renewed currency was given by the expression of it in the House of Commons, by Mr. Bright, and its endorsement by the Marquis of Salisbury at Cooper's Hill College, just before the Prince of Wales visited India, and by certain untoward circumstances since, viz., that Europeans ill-treat, and are discourteous to the natives. The following particulars occur in papers of the same date from different districts in Bengal:—

The *Barahanagar Patrika Samachar* is exceedingly grieved to hear that Inspector Buckley, of the Barackpore Station, while in a state of intoxication, entered the shop of an old man named Khetra Nath Ghose of Raabundipore and dealt him a blow which knocked the old man down. On his rising and attempting to escape he was again knocked down. By this time a number gathered to the spot and the Inspector turned upon them. Acts of oppression like this have become as it were an ornament of the police.

Inspector Smith of the Dum-Dum station tore off the beard of a carter for refusing to allow him the use of a cart which had been already bespoken by another party. The authorities ought to take notice of his conduct.

A Correspondent of the *Bishwa Dut*, writing from Berhampore without date, states that whilst the judge, the clergyman, a silk manufacturer and Colonel (name illegible) were engaged in playing at cricket in the field facing the barracks, Bábu Bankim Chatterji, the Deputy Magistrate, happened to be passing in his palanquin along a bye-path across the same; whereupon the Colonel, speaking in the Hindi language, prevented the bearers from proceeding: this led Bankim Bábu to remonstrate, saying, that as he was in the habit of passing by that way every day he would do so on this occasion also; but on the Colonel further using threats, the Bábu cited the Judge as a witness to this proceeding, and on his going to do the same to the clergyman, the Colonel in a loud voice said, "Go hence," and suiting

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the action to the words, laid hold of his hand and pushed him away. On a charge being brought against the Colonel, and the facts proved by evidence, and the Judge finding himself in a dilemma, and being cited as a witness by the Colonel, he wrote to the Bábu, saying that the Colonel wished to be forgiven, as no one at the time knew him to be Bankim Bábu; but the latter insisted upon an apology being given as publicly as the insult was offered, which was at last done by the Colonel; and so the matter dropped. Be that as it may, the Bengalis have for a long time been subjected to insults; what wonder is it, then, that they should be exempt in the estimation of the mofussil authorities.\*

Other cases of a similar kind are mentioned, but they need not be quoted. It should be borne in mind that every case of this nature which occurs is eagerly recorded, and that the most is made of them by the conductors of these journals. Still it would be in the highest degree unfair to judge of the ordinary English treatment of the people of India by the foregoing extracts. Since Railways have been made, and owing to other similar causes, many Englishmen of the lower orders, with whom a blow is too ready when anger is aroused, have come to India; and it is these mainly, who, in their disputes with the natives, strike them and give rise to the complaints which are made. But, be it far from us to cast a stigma on the Railway Servants of India, who, taken on the whole, are a body of men worthily sustaining the British name in the East for high-mindedness and justice.

The leading articles of the papers under notice, are, most of them very temperately written, and apparently with a full knowledge of the subject treated. Bearing in mind that it is of Mofussil journals that mention is now being made, no hesitation can be felt in venturing the statement that they would favourably compare with a similar treatment of local topics in English country papers. "While translating the articles of one of these papers," says a gentleman in a letter on this subject, "I am frequently compelled to admire the happy and yet forcible treatment of social matters which marks whatever is written in the editorial columns of this paper." The Bengali papers are strong in recommendations for legislation, having only too great a belief in the efficacy of Acts of Parliament. The *Som Prakás* is particularly anxious that a special Act for the prevention of cruelty to animals should be passed. In spite of the merciful tendencies which the *creeds* of Brahmanism, Buddhism, and kindred beliefs impress upon the people of the East there is nothing that so sadly "strikes a stranger" as the cruelty displayed to animals. It is a

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\* These extracts are from a "Report on Native Papers" published weekly in Bengal, translations of the contents being made by a Government Translator.

These Reports were formerly sent to the Editors of English papers. They are now treated as confidential; but we believe that some change in this respect is not improbable.



hopeful sign to find the papers discountenancing the practice. The *Samachar Chandrika* in criticizing Sir George Campbell's policy as Lieut-Governor of Bengal, makes a remark which should be received with all respect from so "much-married" a people as the Hindus. This paper says:—"Among His Honor's faults are reckoned his acting independent of the counsel of others, and his hastiness (*lit.*, hot-headedness) for which we cannot blame him, as he never was married, and a man who has no wife can never pursue an even path." With regard to the (then) approaching famine most useful hints are given to Government; the people are told of other food-stuffs than rice upon which they could sustain life, and where these edibles could be found; the Zemindars were recommended to sell their jewels and not to lock up their money in that form of wealth; the British Indian Association was advised to leave off drafting Bills for the legislature and to attend to practical matters; while every body was besought, during this period of trial to spend less money than was customary on marriages and religious festivals. Mr. Lely makes a point of the papers charging Government with being the cause of the famine, but nowhere have we been able to find this seriously advanced, and he does not quote his authority for the statement. Beyond a misconception of the action taken by Lord Northbrook, shared in common with their Anglo-Indian contemporaries, and caused by the secret way in which the Governor-General provided against the famine in his purchases of rice all that the vernacular papers said about the scarcity was very creditable: in this crisis they deserved well of their country. Appreciation of English generosity in the impending famine time is exhibited, although it is often enough stated that Orientals have no word in their vocabulary answering to "gratitude" in the English tongue. The *Sadhārani* remarks that "notwithstanding all England, as shown by its daily papers, is busy with the Ashanti war, yet the Lord Mayor of London, on hearing of the impending famine in India, proposed to open a subscription for the distressed, and the merchants offered to send back to India the rice taken from it, for all which gracious acts may the blessing of God rest upon these generous merchants, and may they live long."

Mr. Fawcett is frequently mentioned, and the efforts he is making in the House of Commons for the welfare of India are appreciated; the Hon'ble Member for Hackney may look upon the whole of Bengal and much of Western India, as included in the constituency he represents. Bengali Editors are not so bad as the compilers of English news for French papers, but one of the former in the *Sulabha Samachar* changed Kirkcaldy into Kirkan-diburg. The Circumlocution Office, for all the ceremoniousness of the Hindu character, is as mercilessly held up to ridicule in Bengal



as in England. The *Saptahik Samachar* makes a remark *à propos* to a change of Governors which may be quoted as an antidote to some disrespectful remarks made by some of the Bombay papers of their rulers. This journal says :—

The Bengalis have always reposed confidence in the English, and therefore it was that they sought the assistance of Clive to deliver them from the hands of the wicked Suraj-ud-dowla ; and the English too have always shown a liking for the Bengalis ; but Sir George Campbell has, all of a sudden, altered the policy under which the Bengalis were hitherto prospering and at ease. Either Mr. Eden or Mr. Bayley should be appointed to the post, for Bengal requires such a ruler as loves its people.

Further on, the same paper remarks, somewhat ludicrously :—  
“ The educated Bengalis are much devoted to the English, whom they copy in a great many things, such as throwing out the foot (!), position in standing, pronunciation, wearing apparel, and a great liking for what the English eat and drink.” Unfortunately the last cited “liking” too frequently takes the form of “pegs” of soda and brandy and bottled beer. Referring to native officers of native Regiments the *Hindu Ranjika* thinks they ought to be educated, and insists “that the passing of an examination in Mathematics ought to be made as compulsory upon native officers as it is now upon the officers of European Regiments. The Mutiny of 1857 would not have occurred if the (native) officers had been educated men.”

As a general rule progressiveness in matters relating to agriculture is advocated, but oftentimes little aid is given to the ryots, who sadly need assistance. The Rev. Dr. Buckley, of Cuttack, (Orissa,) who has had over 40 years’ experience in India, thus writes in a private letter,—after enumerating the various journals of the Province in which the terrible famine of 1866 occurred :—  
“ The Editors of these papers, on questions arising where the interests of Zemindars and ryots are conflicting, are always to be found on the side of the strong against the weak. They are much too selfish to open their mouths or move their pens in the interest of the oppressed myriads.” It is consolatory to think that this is somewhat exceptional, and that the power of the labourers, combined in Rent Unions\* is often strong enough to beat the Zemindars. The labourers, too, are not unrepresented in the vernacular press.

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\* On a somewhat smaller scale, yet essentially the same in principle, the agricultural labourers of Bengal had the “courage of their opinions,” and combined against employers long before Mr. Arch had stirred up the “sudden flow of mutiny” which a few years ago, so angered the British farmer, and led a Bishop of the Established Church to suggest a ducking in the horse-pond for the leader of the movement.



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In an article on "Trial by Jury" the *Kanchraparah Patrika* makes some remarks which are too good to be passed over. The appointment of men who have little learning, and whose only recommendation is their wealth, is deprecated. "It is become a common saying now," the Editor remarks, "that if a man has money, whether he be a shop-keeper or a liquor seller, and whether he has learned to read and write or not, he is considered fit to sit on the jury. Some definite rules should be laid down, whereby the appointment of really able men, well educated, of good moral character, and having the fear of God, should be secured." As an instance of the abuse of power by zemindars the *Sulabha Samachar* gives a tabulated statement of suits instituted in the Serampore Moonsiff's Court, for petty amounts of rents: 370 suits in all were instituted, 29 for sums under one anna, 42 under two annas, and so on, the highest amount being eight annas. Some of these papers are not slow in recognising enterprise. The *Calcutta Darpan* warmly advocates the making of tramways and railways.

The *Som Prakās* deals with the large question of the connection between England and India, in which it is argued that only through the native Rajahs can a hold be obtained on the hearts of the people; hence the action of the Supreme authorities against Baroda was deprecated. A passage in the article under reference runs:—  
 "\*\*\* From this we think that England can never gain the heart of India, never, certainly by outward means only. We can respond to tokens of affection; if hate be given we can return hatred; if they boast of their civilization, seeing they are the conquering race, we with fears give up our long-held civilization. If England behaves badly or cruelly towards us, we will hold God as a witness, and curse it in our very hearts. If, on the other hand, England assimilates us into its own body, we can then only feel desirous for its welfare." For language, similar to this, expressed by the *Hindu Patriot* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*,\* Sir George Campbell publicly took up his parable against the Native Papers, dwelling mainly upon such remarks as the foregoing; but this

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\* Mr. Lely, quotes the following from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of May, 1875:—

"Come, come dear pale-faced red-haired fellow-subjects. Leave off this sanctimonious tone, we know very well what you are, and you very well know that we have penetrated through your masks: When you come to preach to us of high morality, honesty, truth, and so forth, we admire your impudence, but we frankly tell you

that you must seek some other way to impose upon us." This is unquestionably coarse and in very bad taste; but it would be as reasonable to stigmatize the British Press as unworthy of confidence, because of the rubbish published by the Member for Stoke, in the *Englishman*, as to say that because the *A. B. Patrika* foolishly raves, the whole native press is disloyal and should be curbed.



censure was fairly met by Dr. George Smith, then retiring from the editorial chair of the *Friend of India*, in a speech which he made at Bombay. He said that the blots complained of were but as spots on the sun compared with the vast amount of public good the Bengali papers were doing, and the still greater good they were likely to do.

What some fairly representative Bengali papers have to say for themselves, may not be unfittingly quoted here, it being premised that what is stated was written in reply to letters seeking information. The three selected, are two Metropolitan journals and a Mofussil Paper:—

*The Hindu Patriot.*

The *Patriot* was started in 1853 by a Babu, now deceased, who was also its Editor. Its first proprietor was Baboo Madhusudan Roy, of Calcutta, who, after a year made over the property to the Editor. The last named gentleman continued Proprietor and Editor till June, 1861, when he died. The good-will was then purchased by the late Babu Kaliprasana Singh, who placed it under the editorial management of Babu Chunder Mookerjee, at present Editor of *Mookerjee's Magazine*. This gentleman conducted the paper for about six months. Babu Kristodas Pal took charge of the paper in December, 1861, and has since continued to act as Editor and Manager.

The *Patriot* is an organ of native opinion. Its political faith is loyalty to the British Crown and justice to the millions. It seeks to represent all classes of the native population. It is conservative, inasmuch as it repels unreasoning attacks on the institutions of the country; and liberal, inasmuch as it advocates progress and reform in consonance with the improved education and sympathies of the people. It looks upon British rule in India as a great blessing, and at the same time seeks those advantages and privileges for the people which they are taught to look for, from the high and righteous principles which the great British nation professes in the administration of this country.

The *Patriot* is regarded as the national organ of the country at large, as it seeks to be the exponent of the wants, wishes, and feelings of all the native races inhabiting this vast Peninsula.

There can be no question that the views and opinions which find expression in the *Patriot* are respected by the Indian Government and public. The authorities have shown their appreciation of the Editor's services by making him a member of the Calcutta Court of Justices, and offering him a seat in the Bengal Legislative Council, which he has accepted.

*The Amrita Bazar Patrika.*

This paper was started in February, 1868, in Amrita Bazar, a village twelve miles from Jessore, Bengal. When four years old it was removed to Calcutta, still retaining, however, the same name.

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* is a very popular paper. It is considered to be the native's organ. It has the largest circulation amongst the native press, the number of its subscribers being a little less than 1,500. The Government regard it as an able and honest, but extremely anti-English paper. It is published weekly, on Thursday, its annual subscription being Rs. 8, inclusive of postage.



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### *The Moorshedabad Patrika.*

The *Patrika* is a new journal, having been established in April, 1872. Its political principles are liberal, and it is neutral on all religious matters.

One of the chief objects of the *Patrika* is to supply its readers with local news, with interesting information regarding the districts of Moorshe-  
dabad and Central Bengal generally, and to discuss all measures which have reference to the development of the material resources of the districts which it serves, and to the improvement,—social, municipal, and moral of the people.

The *Patrika*, however, does not confine itself to the politics of our little Pedlington; it now and then addresses itself to questions of larger and wider interests, to subjects connected with the advancement of the people of India in general and of Bengal in particular.

The principle on which this paper is conducted is the greatest good of the largest number. It advocates any and every measure, the aim of which is to promote the good and further the interests of our countrymen at large.

At this point, in dealing with the Bengali papers, a halt must be made though masses of material lie yet untouched. Some remarks on the loyalty of the journals may be fittingly left to a general summing up, after a detailed reference to the papers of the respective Presidencies. Meanwhile, a list is appended of all the native papers in Bengal at the time when the information for these remarks was gathered, *viz.*, early in 1874:—

### LIST OF BENGALI VERNACULAR PAPERS.\*

#### I.

Banga Bandhu, Dacca.	Bhagvat Bhakti Pradaini, Cuttack.
Parimal Bahini, Moharajgunge.	Hemlatay, Calcutta.
Paksik Samachar, Barahanagar	Sadhārani, Chinsurah.
Indian Mirror, Calcutta (daily).	The Bidesi, Cuttack.
Ubalabandhab, Calcutta.	Banga Darpana, Barisál.
Amrita Bazar Patrika, Ditto.	Hitakáry, Calcutta.
Sangbád Purna Chandroday, Cal-	Pratna Kumro Nundini, Serampore.
cutta (daily).	Bama Bodhini Patrika, Calcutta.
Education Gazette.	Samachar Chandrika, Ditto.
Hindu Hitaishini, Dacca.	The Bengalee, Ditto.
The Durbin, Calcutta.	Barta Boho, Barisál.
Halishhar Patarika, Ditto.	Dacca Prakás, Dacca.
Jita Shadhini, Barisál.	Bhagvat Tatwa Bodhika, Berhampore.
Prachin Puran Sangraha, Calcutta.	Chikitsa Darpan, Chinsurah.
Saptahik Paridarsak. Ditto.	Akbar-ul-Akhyai, Mozufferpore.
Behar Bandhu, Ditto.	Arunai Sibságar.
Rungpore Dikprákás, Kakneah.	Assam Bilashini Jorehaut.
Banga Mibir, Bhowanipore.	Gram Dut Burrisaul.
Bisva Duta, Ditto.	Rajshye News, Boalia.
Kaoyanubad, Calcutta.	Moorshedabad Patrika, Berhampore.
Saptahik Samachar, Ditto.	Madna Garala Tatwa, Calcutta.
Pali Poridarsak Pubna.	Banga Vidya Prakashika, Calcutta
The Morning Beam, Calcutta (daily).	(daily).

\* A few of the publications in this list are published Monthly, and strictly speaking, are not Newspapers.



Biswa Darsan, Calcutta.  
Grambasi, Ranaghat.  
Guana Bikasini Patrika, Pubna.  
Calcutta Prakás, Calcutta.  
Ei-ek-Ranga, Ditto.  
Sangbád Bahika, Balasore.  
Orissa Patriot, Cuttack.  
Sama Vedak, Berhampore.  
Bhárat Suhrid, Calcutta.  
The Durpan, Ditto.  
Utkal Darpana, Balasore.  
Gram Basta Prokáshika, Coomercolly.  
Dharma Tatwa, Calcutta.  
Sulabh Somachar, Ditto.  
Rajasthaner Itibritto, Ditto.  
Somprakás, Changripota.  
Chasm-i-Iem, Bankipore.  
Utkal Dipika, Cuttack.  
Desh Hitaishini, Serajunge.

Hindoo Patriot, Calcutta.  
Tatwabadhini Patrika, Ditto.  
Gulduste Naizir, Gya.  
Saptahik Sangbád, Bhowanipore.  
Rahasya Sandaru, Calcutta.  
Madhyasta, Ditto.  
Barripore Chikitsa, Barripore.  
Utkal Putia, Cuttack.  
The Duta, Calcutta.  
Balaranjika, Madareepore.  
Vijuana Vikasa, Khurda.  
Sahachara, Calcutta.  
Prajá Hitaishini, Khagra.  
People's Friend, Calcutta.  
Abakasa Toshm, Bhowanipore.  
Moorshedabad Rahashya, Calcutta.  
Chundernagore Patrika, Chinsurah.  
Kancharaparah Patrika, Kancharaparah.

#### BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

Second in importance as regards the number of its journals, Bombay can scarcely be said to take a lower place than Bengal in "vigour and rigour" of any kind. Its energetic Anglicized Parsee population, and the generally martial character of the inhabitants of the States under the direct rule or "protection" of the Presidency Governor, introduce us to vernacular newspapers whose stamp is altogether different to the publications of the Bengali, and yet, as has been already remarked, properly treated, they are not one whit more dangerous to the ruling powers, than is the softer speech of the editor of the Eastern India *Patrika* or *Prakásh*. A copy of the *Rast Goftar*, taken at random, will suffice to prove this. The mere enumeration of the headings of the articles will, at once show an altered tone. They are as follows:—"Baroda in Hot Water." "Tramways *versus* Buggies." "The Departed Reformer of Happy Memory." "The Rustomji Jamsetji Memorial Fund." "Bombay in Times of War." "Plantain the King of Fruits." "A Year's Progress in Vaccination." "The Future of the Parsees." "The Examination for the office of a Native Subordinate Magistrate." "Overland Railway between England and India." "Usefulness of a Free Native Press." "The Petition of the Bombay Association against the Revenue Jurisdiction Bill." &c. Bombay has become the "gateway" of India, and in addition to the influence of those settled in the city, the continual stream of European thought and action passing through, have a strong reflex impress upon the native journalists of the capital of the Presidency, and its immediate neighbourhood. The three leading vernacular papers are the *Rast Goftar*, *Indu Prakás* and the *Guzerat Mitra*. While each and all of these not unfrequently pen what



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Dean Stanley, addressing the Newspaper Press Fund of England, calls "terrific leaders," they oftentimes inculcate the soundest sense in a most graphic manner. Like the trunk of the elephant nothing is too small to be passed over, nothing too great to be grasped. Mr. Lely extracts the following from the *Indu Prakās*, which is creditable to the common sense of the writer:—

"As a family will become prosperous if every member of it works hard and denies himself, so will a nation. Every one is crying out that the present Government is eating us up like a rat, but no one thinks what is the real truth of the case. . . . We have not lost but gained by the English rule and have fallen into our dependent condition by our own negligence, which is a most shameful thing to us. Foreigners take our raw materials, and having made them fit for use, give them back to us, and charge us what price they like. We are ignorant babies and have to eat food chewed in another's mouth. Then, friends, . . . let us cast away our indolence and gird up our loins and strive to increase the skilled arts among us!"

While in regard to that base imitation of the characteristics of the European, which is neither flattering to the imitator nor to the imitated, we have the following utterances:—

"To put on English boots, to wear a collar round the neck, to talk an Anglified Hindustani, to swagger about, all this does no good when allied with bad conduct."—(*Akbar-i-Alam.*)

"Civilization does not consist in imitating English dress, or in wearing a huge turban, a long coat, and a gold stripe round the waist, tight trousers, and English boots. It consists in improvement of the character."—(*Noor-ud-Absar.*)

Their (*i. e.*, our educated youths') highest ambition is to be able to talk English with a police inspector, a station master, or a coaching-clerk, and to be able to strike terror into the hearts of railway peons by a few hideous sentences dirtily scrawled in the handsome and highly-glazed pages of the Complaint Book. The estimate which the conceited Parsee or Hindoo forms of himself is higher than is warranted by his genius or capacity.—(*Guzerat Mitra.*)

The *Guzerat Mitra*, which is the property of, and is edited by Dinshah Ardeshir, a Parsee of much ability, whose pamphlet on "The Impending Revolution in Baroda, 1873-1874," was useful in attracting attention to the wretched conduct of the affairs of that State, is a journal of acknowledged influence, though it now and again goes out of its way to pen criticism of English men and English doings, whereby it lays itself open to the assaults of the Philistines of the Anglo-Indian press, who do not spare it. In treating of purely native concerns, it is trustworthy, which is more than can be said of its lucubrations in English. However, a criticism of Mr. Grant Duff, on the occasion of his visit to India, two years ago, may be quoted as likely to interest readers in England. It is as follows:—

Mr. Grant Duff is a disciple of Richard Cobden, but he has not a particle of that eminent statesman's humanity. Compare the energy of Mr. Cobden, his love of man, his love especially of the poor and of the laboring man,



with the temperament of the member for Elgin. For observe, he came to India, and went to Matheran, and in the notes which he has published in the *Contemporary Review* of his travels in this country, he has no other word to use for the gardeners of Matheran than 'savages'. Nor is Mr. Grant Duff inferior to Richard Cobden in humanity only and in greatness of soul; he is also inferior to him in eloquence, for the 'unadorned eloquence' of Cobden has not often been surpassed in the British Senate.

In this Presidency the experiment of publishing a cheap newspaper for the masses has been made, and has proved successful. The *Dnyān Chakshu* is one of the cheapest journals in the world, in fact the cheapest when the cost of production in India is taken into consideration. It is published at Poona, the subscription being one rupee and two annas per annum, and, being published once a week, this is less than one half-penny per copy. It was specially established in the interests of the very poor, who were unable to purchase the higher-priced English and Native papers. Its object is prominently put forward as the enlightenment of the poorer classes of the community, an object which it is held to worthily fill in a manner not antagonistic to the better side of English rule. As might be expected from its cheapness the *Chakshu* has, by far, the largest circulation in the Bombay Presidency. The *Chakshu*, like many other vernacular journals, was lithographed in the earlier days of its existence, but it soon passed into an improved position by which the use of type became necessary.

There is a great sameness in all the native journals; in Bombay, not quite so much as elsewhere perhaps. They have scarcely yet reached the stage when individual characteristics can be stamped upon them. In this they differ exceedingly from their Anglo-Indian contemporaries. When the history of the English Press in India comes to be faithfully written, it will be found to consist very much of a series of biographical sketches. Without the many subjects and manifold resources of British journalism to fall back upon, the editor and proprietor (this is frequently the connection) of an English newspaper in India, exercises a personal influence over every part of the paper, in a manner and to an extent hardly practicable elsewhere. The impersonality of the higher English journals is a state yet to be evolved in India. Two of the vernacular papers, at least, however, exhibit from an Indian standpoint the incarnation of personality, to which reference has been made, as marking the leading English papers, viz, the *Hindu Patriot*, with the Hon'ble Kristodas Pal, and the *Guzerat Mitra*, with Dinshah Ardeshir, as the conductors respectively. All the others display a monotony which is well nigh appalling so far as the editorial columns are concerned, and relief is only found in the news and correspondence columns, where the incidents that go to round off the daily life of town and village are described. An exception ought, perhaps, to be made in the case of



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the native papers published in the city of Bombay: the leading articles in their columns during the riots between Musalmáns and Parsees in 1872 were of great influence, and had a marked effect upon the action of the Parsee community, if not also upon some of the other communities in the city. When education has spread only a little farther and vernacular journalism becomes more of a real power, Bombay is certain to be in the front. There is nothing further of special importance to detail respecting the papers of this presidency, except to append the following list of native journals:—

The Bhoot, Bombay.	Daily Prabhakeer, Bombay.
Bodh Soodakhur, Sattara.	Suttya Shodhuka, Rutnagherry.
Hitechu, Kaladgie.	Rast Gofar, Bombay.
Toolsucrit Ramayen, Bombay.	Belgaum Sumachar, Belgaum.
Yezdanperist, Bombay.	Sudnyan Bodhuk, Bombay (bi-weekly).
Nooryodaya, Tanna.	Dnyan Bodhuk, Dharwar.
Bombay Somachar, Bombay (daily.)	Chandrodaya, Amedabad.
Nyaya Tatwa, Ahmedabad.	Doonia Dad Putre, Neriod.
Dnyanodaya, Bombay.	Vaipa Sumachar, Bombay (daily)
Guzerat Mitra, Surat.	Dnyan Prakás, Poona. (bi-weekly)
Duyan Chuckshu, Poona.	Shoobha Soochaka, Sattara.
Khandeish Vaibhava, Dhoolia.	Loka Kully Anechu, Poona.
Broach Vurtman, Broach.	Indu Prukash, Bombay.
Arya Mitra, Bombay.	Arroonodaya, Tanna.
Nassick Veit, Nassick.	Dryana Sagara, Kolapore.
Vepar Mitra, Bombay (daily.)	Amedabad Somachar, Ahmadabad.
Parashu, Jamkhirdee.	Jam-i-Jamshed, Bombay. (daily)
Hindu Punch, Tanna.	Somschor Bahadoor, Ahmadabad.
Jugan Mitra, Rutnagherry.	Nyaya Sindoo, Ahmadnagar.
Bombay Mitra, Bombay.	Loka Mitra, Bombay.
Kulpintum, Sholapore.	Maharashtra Mitra, Sattara.
Hind uReformer and Mitradaaya,	Surya Prakás, Surat.
Bombay.	Hindu Punch, Bombay.
Parsee Punch, Bombay.	Khed Vurtman, Kaira.
Katty awar Somachar, Rajkote.	Swadesh Hittechu, Bombay.
Niti Prakás, Kaira.	Vurtman Dipika, Bombay.
Native Opinion, Bombay.	Vidaya Vinoda, Limree. (Kathiawar)*

### MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

This Presidency is the Cinderella of the Governmental divisions of India, so far as being last of all in commercial enterprise and other matters, is concerned; he would be a bold prophet who would venture to assert that the parallel with the fairy story might be pursued further and Madras described as likely eventually in things commercial at least to put the other Presidencies to shame. There can be no question that since the days of the storming of Seringapatam, when Clive and Dupleix contended for the possession of the South of India, this portion of the Continent has been

\* Where not otherwise stated, the papers named are published once a week.



very much in the position of that proverbial country which has no history, and is, therefore, held to be happy. Its annals though respectable, are undeniably dull. While the Mutiny of 1857 raged in various parts of the land, there was peace in all the borders of Madras. Its sea coasts, the Coromandel and the Malabar, have few ports, and its export trade is comparatively insignificant, small by the side of the Island of Ceylon to the South-East for instance. Notwithstanding these and other drawbacks, a good work of education and civilization has been done, which places the Presidency, in respect to internal progress, as a whole, on a level with the foremost of the great divisions of India, and in advance of others, yet it is a bad fourth in the number of its vernacular journals, even though its English newspapers are relatively large in proportion and are ably conducted. Twenty-six purely native papers, are all that are registered, while of the Anglo-Vernacular journals, thirty-two in number, a large proportion of them (nineteen) are District Gazettes, under the management of European officials, and strictly confined to the notification of official orders, &c. Nowhere in India, perhaps, are the native newspapers less potent in their influence on the people than in Madras. In fact, the description given by the Agent of *Native Public Opinion*, published in Vepery, Madras, in its colourless and periphrastic reference to itself, is curiously applicable to all the vernacular journals of the Presidency. This description runs:—"The paper belongs to no party. It does not advocate total annihilation of existing things, simply because change is a sign of progress, nor adheres to them simply because they have been so long in existence." This is apparently very broad, yet in reality so narrow that it may be commended for adoption in an election address of that curious political hybrid, the Liberal-Conservative, a lineal descendant of Mr. Facing-both-ways of John Bunyan's allegory.

The Muhammadans are among the more active and enlightened of the inhabitants, and during the time that the late Lord Hobart was Governor of Madras they were in high favour. The experience gained in Turkey by this nobleman—himself one of the most consistent of the aristocratic followers of Richard Cobden—prepossessioned him in favour of the Musalmáns of Southern India. Consequently, notice ought first to be taken of their journals, not merely because of the fact stated, but also for the reason that these number a full third of the vernacular prints. But a numbness, which seems almost born of the burning heat of the vast plains which encircle the few mountain ranges, that make a back-bone to this part of India, seems to have taken hold of the intellect of these (otherwise) energetic people. Captain (now Colonel) Tyrrell, Persian translator to Government, after giving ample summaries



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of four Muhammadan papers, remarks: "In all the above paragraphs there is not a line of original matter;" while of the Reuter's telegrams quoted by them he further adds: "The translations of the telegrams must be Greek to those who read them, as no attempt is made to give the meanings of European names of persons and places occurring in them. There are Turkish and Arabic words for all the principal countries and cities of Europe, but they are evidently unknown to these journalists, who always use the English words *verbatim*." Evidently, the true use of a newspaper has not yet been grasped by the Madras Musalmán. He can be as fierce in Southern India as, according to Mr. Gifford Palgrave ("Travels in Central Arabia") can his Wabáhi brother in Sind. The outbreaks amongst the Moplahs (*lit.*: Ma-Pillahs, mother's sons: being the offspring of Arab fathers from Hindu mothers) on the Western Coast, prove this. Consequently in his newspaper we should look for "brave words," altogether surpassing those of the bold Babu of Bengal when inditing an article for *Mookerjee's Magazine*, or the ardent Parsee of Bombay who feels patriotic impulses stirring within him. An abstract has been given of the principal contents in an issue of the *Rast Gofar*; a summary of the contents of the *Talisman of Wonder*, given by Captain Tyrrell, may not be unfittingly quoted here. This number contained:—

"A short piece of advice to readers, informing them that though men can speak better than beasts, yet, a beast is better than a man who does not speak the truth; after which follow some aphorisms in the style of English copy-books. A facetious story translated, if my memory serves me rightly, from Joe Miller's Jest Book. More advice in the sententious style of oriental Poor Richards, Persian charades, &c. News from Hoonsoor, Mysore, Agra, and other places. These articles seem to be written with the intention of being facetious. The only news from Hoonsoor is, that a buffalo calf has come into the world with its head in the middle of its stomach, and that head a man's. The news from Agra is, that a washerman has been fined for overloading his donkey. The article on Mysore news is written in the Musaja or rhyming prose, in which sense is too commonly sacrificed to sound, and contains no news at all. In Baraitel a miracle has occurred; a man's house was burned down, but the holy 'Koran' was found unharmed by the fire in the ruins. The rest of this paper is entirely filled up by translated extracts from the *Overland Mail* and other English and Hindustani papers."

Reference to the Muhammadan press of Madras, already too fully noticed so far as intrinsic worth is concerned, may be concluded by a paragraph relating to the cremation proposal for England propounded by Sir Henry Thompson. "Now that the English," says the *Shams-ul-Akhbar*, "are thinking of adopting cremation, the Hindus will imagine that they are copying them, and will conclude that in a short time all the English will without doubt be converted to Hinduism. We imagine that the real cause of the English, or of



some among them, favoring cremation is, that they imagine that the body when burnt is less likely to spread contagion, or to pollute the air; but it is a matter of opinion whether the diffusion of noxious gases from the smoke of a burning corpse is not a greater evil than any that could arise from the decomposition of that corpse under the surface of the ground." So far as this community is concerned, while their present lethargy continues, freedom of the press will not lead to much harm, neither will it do much good. This is also true of the Tamil and Malayalam papers. Dull and decorous. One paper wants a book of obscene songs, which are chanted in the Bazaars, suppressed. An article in a Malayalam paper comments upon "the discouragement endured by the industrious of humble origin in India in general and Malabar in particular; and compares their condition here with that of their brethren in Europe, where industry is deservedly honoured, and the industrious, however low in descent, will, if otherwise qualified, meet with no hindrance, such as they do here, in raising themselves to higher steps in the social ladder; and gives instances of such cases." Early marriages are strongly condemned, and social legislation of an advanced type seems in favour with the conductors of these papers, though it is questionable whether they would be of much assistance to Government if any attempt at improvement were made which violently interfered with caste prejudices. The tone of the writings is highly satisfactory, when serious topics are considered. All that we need wish for the future of the Press in the South is, that present characteristics should be greatly intensified. "Masterly inactivity" will then best describe the most suitable Government policy towards them.

The State of Travancore has long been described as the "Model State" of India. Successive Governors-General have borne testimony to this fact; the present family of reigning Princes have worthily striven to maintain the tradition. One of the scions of the royal house delights to meet the people, he on the platform they as audience, and to lecture them upon those qualities of the British people which have contributed to the formation of a natural character which is marvellously forceful. Strange to say, newspapers have not yet taken anything like a proper place in this State, though its authorities and leading men show themselves most sensitive to the criticism of the Madras and Bombay English papers. Missionaries, too, in great numbers, labour in this region, and they, as a rule, have not shown themselves unmindful of the power exerted by the Press. But, whatever the cause, the fact is undeniable, that this Model State has, perforce, to take a lower place through lack of vigorous newspaper enterprise, which is a pity, for even in a well-governed oriental country, the consequent monotony and poverty



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of ideas must be absolutely appalling: the more excellently ruled the State, the greater the mental barrenness.\*

The native newspapers† of the Madras Presidency are as follows:—

Travancore Herald, Cottyam.	Andrubarlia Sinjuvani, Madras.
Vethantha Nirnaya Pathrica, Madras.	The Deshabhimani, Madras.
Sugurda Vasani, Madras.	Ashrapel Akbar, Madras.
The Brahma Depekai, Madras.	Sharwada Munjari, Madras.
The Padchenra Tharaka, Cochin.	Sathiapomeny, Ootacamund.
Suttia Burthamani, Madura.	Brithantha Bodhinee, Bangalore.
Shaba Oomadetool Akbar, Madras.	Nyaga Bodhinee, Cocanada.
Muzharool Akbar, Madras.	Native Public Opinion, Madras.
Diva Samajum, Masulipatam.	Viyavaharathanugaur (Tamil Edition and Telugu do) Madras.
Abgoolob Akbar, Bangalore.	The Neyagabodhin, Madras.
Manshore Mohamedien, Bangalore.	Thamoabodhini, Madras.
Pooroosharka Perathani, Masulipatam.	Tallismay Hynith, Madras.
Sudhee Banjeni, Cocanada.	Sadgori Zamani, Madras.
Vetty Codeyen, Madras.	Khasunool Akbar, Bangalore.
The Shumsool Akhbar, Madras.	Tallesmay Kantan, Bangalore.
Varthamana Brinasani, Coimbatonum.	Kamla Patakam, Cochin.
The Subhodini, Mangalore.	Sogardava Hamani, Madras.
The Osuanabanoo, Madras.	Hitavadi, Masulipatam
Dinavurthamani (Telugu and Tamil Editions,) Madras.	Karnatam Pracasika, Bangalore.
S. Travancore Morning Star, Nagercoil.	Janavinodini, Madras.

### THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES AND THE PUNJAB.

Among other things which cannot but compel the attention, even though but a casual glance at the titles of the newspapers in the latest-acquired territories of the British in India be given, is the desire manifested by the people to do honour to a "Burra Sahib" of high repute, by calling a newspaper after him. Hence we have the *Lawrence Gazette*, and *Muir Gazette* published at Meerut, a place infamous in Mutiny days; the *Strachey Gazette* and *Inglis Gazette*, in Urdu and Hindee respectively, both printed at Mooradabad; and the *Mayo Gazette* at Delhi. It will not escape notice that in each of these cases the distinctive appellation of the Government Record is appended to the names of these distinguished after an

\* Several papers appear to be published in and near Travancore: The *Herald*, Cottyam (head-quarters of the Church Missionary Society). Two English and two native journals at Cochin, a port on the Malabar Coast, and one at Nagercoil; but, after all, assuming those published outside, circulate in the State, the result is very poor for Travancore.

† A proportion of these are not, presumably, newspapers strictly so called, but magazines issued monthly, though registered as newspapers. In the list furnished to the writer by the Postmaster General of Madras, unlike all other returns, there is no column to indicate the frequency of publication.



Indian fashion, a certainly commendable one. Possibly it was thought that it would be derogatory to associate such mighty names with the titles of journals which had, perhaps, criticized their acts, and consequently they have been apotheosized in connection with the name of a publication which never contained anything disrespectful of them, being under their own direct control. Although the vernacular press of the North-West Provinces can date its birth so far back as 1830, when the *Agra Akbhar*, to which reference has been made, was started, this institution has failed to strike deep root, to exert much influence, or to attract much attention. The fact is that this section of the Indian press has been smothered in a blanket of too much coddling. These Provinces are much governed, as Government goes in India; though in Europe or America the Executive would be held to be feeble in the extreme. Nevertheless the authorities are altogether the *Deus ex machina* \* of social and political life, and the consequence is a decided lack of tone or spirit in the papers. And yet the inhabitants of these region are among the most warlike, energetic, and independent of the many races of India which are under British rule.

Perhaps, it was felt that to give these people a taste of liberty, the chance of saying just what they pleased, would be to find for them an outlet by the pen for the energy which had hitherto given exceeding great strength to the sword-arm: hence the reason, doubtless, why Government adopted the policy of largely subsidising certain of the papers by taking a goodly number of copies, and thus ensuring, to the proprietor a remunerative circulation by a modified system of bribery. A paper thus supported is always at the mercy of the official who has the power to withdraw the assistance on which it depends; and the effect as regards independent criticism or opinion is the same as that caused by the endowment of a place of worship, which has often been found to exercise a deterrent, rather than a stimulating, action on religious zeal. Consequently the native press in the North-West Provinces and the Punjab count for little or nothing in the formation or direction of public opinion; and while the Bombay and Calcutta English journals find much to extract, and not a little pabulum for editorial manipulation from their vernacular contemporaries, the *Pioneer* and other papers of influence in this portion of the empire, scarcely ever notice, either for praise or blame, what appears in the native newspapers. The conductors of these prints are not even industrious in the collec-

\* It was in these Provinces that an English official was horrified to discover that he had been deified, and that worship of himself was included in the devotion paid to the crowd of deities to whom court was paid by many of the people whom he ruled.



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tion of local items, and give but a colourless representation of current history which, skilfully arranged, might present a moving panorama of bright incidents and curious facts. It was, if the writer's memory serves him correctly, in the columns of a North-West journal, that an inconspicuous paragraph of five or six lines, announced the loss of several hundred lives in one of the large rivers in that region. Not a word of detail or comment beyond the mere recital of the bare fact, describing the circumstances under which a number of heavily-laden passenger boats were capsized or sunk. When it is remembered how fully, and even sensationally, a railway accident, involving the loss of a few lives, is treated in Europe, the lack of appreciation evinced by these journals will be realised.\* More interest is taken by these papers in the political condition of Afghanistan; and the movements of Russia attract as much attention and are, perhaps, more commented upon, than the doings of the Government of India. Shut up from criticism on this side, their mouth filled by a large sugar plum being placed in it, attention by Vernacular editors in the North-West is, naturally enough, directed to doings abroad, and in the affairs of Afghanistan and the gradual hugging by the strong arms of the Russian bear of all the Central Asian towns and tribes, there is certainly matter of interest. It may not be out of place to state here, that so well is the severe practice of Russian rule as compared with English known in India, that this Euro-Asiatic Power would not be welcomed as a conqueror in place of Britain. Much as Bengalee Baboos and ultra-patriotic Parsees may object to English supremacy, the residuum of experience in their mind is strongly permeated with a sense of the fairness and justice of that supremacy. The bugbear of Russian emissaries fomenting rebellion in the bazars of Indian cities and over the evening meal of the ryot in his hut, which alarms so many Anglo-Indian journalists, is not likely to be a reality whilst the continent is ruled on the principles which now animate its supreme authorities.

So far as the statistics of the North-West papers show, newspaper enterprise is at a stand-still, even shows signs of going back; while the circulation is miserably small, thanks to Government subsidies. Of the press in these Provinces, indeed, the most noteworthy facts to be given are contained in the mere recital of the journals, which is herewith appended:—

\* In Madras, however, a few months after, almost as little concern was manifested respecting the sudden destruction of a large body of pilgrims who had encamped in the dry bed of a river, it being the hot and (usually) rainless season. During

the night, however, heavy rain fell in the hills, and a body of water several feet high, without any warning whatever, dashed torrent-like down the hitherto empty water-way, and a large proportion of the pilgrims were drowned.

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## THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.

Urdu Delhi Gazette, Agra.  
Ainal Tibabut, Ditto.  
Lawrence Gazette, Meerut.  
Nagree Perkash, Ditto.  
Dubduball Secundree, Rampore.  
Uritt Dahra, Dhar.  
Noorool Afag, Cawnpore.  
Rohileund Somachar, Mooradabad.  
Muir Gazette, Meerut.  
Budhi Prakash, Allahabad.  
Strachey Gazette, Mooradabad.  
Kairbachan Soodha, Benares.  
Harris Chunder's Magazine (fortnightly), ditto.  
Akhbar Mohatsham, Jawrah.  
Mutlae Noor, Cawnpore.  
Boohund Akhbar, Mooradabad.  
Nasim Jounpore, Jounpore.

Urdu Law Reports, Mooradabad.  
Khurshed Jehantab, Agra.  
Alligurh Institute Gazette Allygurh.  
Inglis Gazette, Mooradabad.  
Nujmool Akhbar, Meerut.  
Benares Akhbar, Benares.  
Mohib Hind, Meerut.  
Mahomedan Social Reformer (fortnightly), Benares.  
Lohi Mafooz, Mooradabad.  
Noorool Umver, Cawnpore.  
Rohileund Akhbar, Mooradabad (bi-weekly).  
Julwai Toor, Meerut.  
Nunil Absar, Allahabad.  
Gwalior Akhbar, Gwalior.  
Sumaya Vinode, Nynsee Tal.

## THE PUNJAB.

The Kohi-noor, Lahore.  
Khan Khali, Goojranwalla.  
Magmaul Behreen, Loodiana.  
Anwar-ool-Shums, Lahore.  
Akhbar-i-Am, Ditto.  
Nafa-ool Azim, Ditto.  
Noorof Sheen, Loodiana.  
Mayo Gazette, Delhi.  
Loodiana Akhbar, Loodiana (bi-weekly).  
Guris-i-Shaigan, Lahore.  
Ressalla Star of India, Goojranwalla.  
Khan Khali Alum, Delhi.  
Akmahul Akhbar, ditto.

Urdu Akhbar, Delhi.  
Mugsoodul Akhbar, Ditto.  
Vidia Billas, Sealkote.  
Nasir-ul-Islam, Delhi.  
Punjabee Akhbar, Lahore.  
Chushma Fiāz, Goojranwalla.  
Sadigool Akhbar, Bhawulpore.  
Akhbar Rufaz Ain-Sealkote, Sealkote.  
Ressalla Niti Prakash, Loodiana.  
Puttialla Akhbar, Puttialla.  
Hadi-e-Hagigat, Lahore.  
Hindu Prakash, Umritsur.

The journals of the Central Provinces, Oudh, Rajpootana, Sind, and British Burma, tabulated on a previous page, do not exhibit characteristics sufficiently noteworthy to call for particular notice, save that it ought to be stated that those published in Oudh, of which the writer has but an imperfect record, deserve to be mentioned as good average journals, not much better and certainly not worse than their contemporaries elsewhere.

## CEYLON.

Any notice of the vernacular papers of India would be incomplete without a particularisation of what is being done in Ceylon in this respect. The smaller communities of different races in this Island render experiments of this nature more practicable than in larger and more mixed populations in India. Though still very



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few in numbers, the native papers of Ceylon are faithful exponents of public opinion, and have an appreciable influence on the mind of the people. Here there is not the faintest expression of dissatisfaction with British rule; and, compared with India, there is a social mixture (not necessarily miscegenation) of races which would make an old Indian stand aghast. The fact that Englishmen find occupation in a not altogether uncongenial climate, in mercantile transactions, and on coffee and tea plantations, so that several thousands are thus scattered throughout the Island, has had a marked effect upon the people; and the principal native newspaper, the *Lakrivi kirana*, has shared in the influence generally abroad. In the range of topics treated, in the comments which are made and in its selection of news, this newspaper will favourably compare with any native journal in India; and, indeed, with some English papers of little more than half-a-century since. Before a newspaper, strictly so-called, was established, for years efforts were made to combine the newspaper with the magazine; and the missionaries (notably of the Wesleyan persuasion) were foremost in the work, the Rev. Robert Spence Hardy being the pioneer. The outcome was the *Lanka Nidhana* ("Treasury of Ceylon"); but while useful it did not take root. Native literature, of a kind, abounded; and, to a certain extent, satisfied the intellectual wants of the people. Female authors, too, are not unknown in Ceylon, a Miss Seraphina de Alwis (pure Native: the *de* is a relic of Portuguese names given to natives at christening two or three centuries since and still retained in the families) having recently published a work printed at the Wesleyan Mission Press. The first vernacular paper printed in Ceylon,—at least, in the South,—was the *Lakmini Pahana* (lit. "the Jewelled Knowledge Lamp of Ceylon,") established by some wealthy Buddhists, and conducted by a well-known Island poet, Koggala by name. It was fairly well conducted, but being pro-Buddhistical in the views it enunciated, it was not supported by the native Christians, as was anticipated; and intelligent Buddhists were too few in number to make a journal, expressing only their sentiments, a success. For some time, however, a good position was maintained, which led to a meeting of native Christians being held with the view of starting a rival. It was agreed that as the Buddhists form so large a majority of the inhabitants, while the Protestants are but few, if the proposed paper was to cater for general support, while conducted on Christian principles, it should not advocate exclusively the cause of any sect, nor should controversies respecting various beliefs have a place in the paper. On these grounds it was started and though the programme has not been strictly adhered to, considering the ferment of religious thought in the land it has been fairly kept. A company was formed, but like almost every news



paper in India, which is company-owned, whether European or native, the brotherhood soon dissolved, and the paper became the property of a Singhalese man, who had been trained as a printer in one of the European offices. After the first issue of the *Kirana*, Mr. W. P. Ranasinghe was called to act as Editor, and under his guidance, taking European journals as a model, it has been made a successful newspaper, one that has enlarged the horizon of the Singhalese mind to a great extent. The journal of the Buddhists soon died, and this gave the *Kirana* an impetus which was not long in placing 1,600 subscribers on its books,—a large constituency as newspaper subscription lists go in India. It is still the "day of small things" with oriental publications. One service rendered by the *Kirana* is thus described:—"There can be little question that the people have learnt, from the newspapers, especially from the *Kirana*, their rights as British subjects. Hitherto, the Headmen exercised undue influence over the ignorant people for their own aggrandisement, but now the people know the powers of the Headmen, and these latter dare not exercise any undue influence over them except in remote parts of the Island, where the power of the Press is not felt." The fact of native oppression of native, has been neatly epigrammatized in the remark, "The people of the East need protection, but it is from their own people," a fact supported by wide experience.

The *Satyalankuraya* ("Beauty of Truth") well-printed in beautifully clear type,—one of the prettiest newspapers in the world to look at, the curved characters of the Singhalese alphabet being well imprinted on good paper,—was started in 1875 by the native Wesleyan missionaries in South Ceylon, who guaranteed the publishers against loss. Of course, it is decidedly religious in tone: it gives a fair abstract of news, which is intelligently translated, so as to make all allusions clear to the reader. Several other papers in the Singhalese tongue have been started, and have had an ephemeral life: one however, still exists, the *Pradeepaya*, a Roman Catholic organ.

The Tamil section of the Ceylonese population is second to none in energy and enterprise, yet it has no newspaper to represent its interests. This is mainly due to the fact that all the men of this race who come to the front are good English scholars, and find in the English journals a medium for expressing their wants. But, for the mass, there is nothing that emanates directly from their own people. Consequently, to express their grievances and for other purposes, often with a poverty-stricken knowledge of the English language, they are driven to the English papers, and are objects of terror to the "sub" who has to ~~turn~~ their sentences into grammatical form. Meetings have been ~~held~~ at various times to establish a Tamil journal in Colombo, but nothing



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has yet come of the resolutions agreed to. In the North of the Island, the American Missionaries have done good service to this race, their weekly *Morning Star* having been long established. Quite recently these Missionaries started a small illustrated monthly Magazine, the *Palier Nasen*, if not the first of the kind published in the East, certainly the only one now existing. It is satisfactory to know that it has, so far, proved successful.

The Muhammadans have made several attempts to establish journals, and lithographed\* papers of four to six pages have from time to time appeared, but none have maintained existence for any length of time.

### *List of Native Papers in Ceylon.*

The Lukrivi Kirana, Colombo.	Morning Star, Jaffna.
Nyanartha Pradeepaya, Colombo.	Satyalankaraya, Colombo.
Palier Nasen, Jaffna.	Satyasamuchchaya, Colombo,
Kawata Kathikaya (Ceylon Punch†) Colombo.	(Buddhist.)

### III.

#### THE FUTURE OF THE INDIAN VERNACULAR PAPERS.

Is it possible to forecast the future of the Vernacular press of India? Surely something of the kind may be attempted, and some broad lines laid down, which shall serve to indicate the nature of the newspaper influence of India that Englishmen of two or three generations hence will have to deal with. At the same time it is not forgotten, that there are many social circumstances which escape the eye of the most careful observer, even of one who is most acquainted with details; and the bearing these have on events which cannot be allowed for. Such a complete knowledge of details the writer does not profess to have, yet from the information already given, and much more which is held in reserve it may not be altogether unprofitable to "peer into the future, far as human eye can see," and observe whither things which can be estimated, are tending. Not only is there the career of the English newspaper press to serve as

\* The *Printers' Register*, a London trade journal, speaks of an illustrated satirical weekly, published at Liverpool, called the *Wasp*. It says:—"Its style is unique, the paper being lithographed throughout." That certainly would not be unique in journalistic annals in the East, where not a few native papers begin with the "litho-stone" and pass on to the case-rack and composing stick.

† In a paper on the Veddahs of Ceylon, read by Mr. Hartshorne, of the Ceylon Civil Service, before the British Association at Bristol, much was made of this aboriginal tribe never even smiling. Mention was made, too, of the general gravity of orientals. But the Singhalese and Tamils can laugh heartily enough, and a newspaper to provoke mirth signifies a good deal of mirth to be provoked.



a guide,—a press which, one hundred and twenty years ago, occupied a much lower position, than does the Indian native press of to-day, but the policy likely to be adopted in the future, by the rulers of India is well-known, while the main currents of purely native opinion are sufficiently well-defined to be of service to the observer. First, it may fairly be taken for granted that no official censorship of the press, corresponding to what is the rule in France, will be necessary, or will be established, in India. It is well-known that the present Viceroy, though recognising the peculiar position in which freedom of expression is placed by India being ruled despotically and not constitutionally, is strongly averse to a Censorship. So much power as is given to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland to suppress, for a time, a paper which has published what is regarded as sedition, might be given to the Governors of Presidencies, and to Lieutenant-Governors of Provinces. Even thus much would, in the writer's opinion, be unnecessary. It would be unnecessary, for there is always a strong body of native opinion honestly in favour of the continuance, for a time at least, of British rule, and who would stand by the order and justice which it secures; this opinion seems likely, even at present, to be strong enough to counteract evil counsels which might endanger the authorities, while there is a powerful armed force always at the command of the Supreme Government. When in 1874 certain native papers were using very strong expressions against the English people and in opposition to Government, perhaps the most sensible things that were said on the side of the British were by natives, of which the following utterance from *Native Public Opinion* may be taken as a fair sample:—

That some native newspapers write occasionally what looks very like seditious preaching, cannot indeed be denied; but the motive which prompts such wild and insane maunderings is not a wish to see the British Government endangered or overthrown, but simply a false idea that such rabid and extravagant writing will be more effective than temperate and mildly-worded censures. The heart is not nearly so much at fault as the head, and though the writers of such suspicious and trashy things will be the first to pray for the continuance of the British rule in India, they fancy they serve their native country best by adopting pessimist views, and heaping indiscriminate censure on men and things in general. Such a state of things is no doubt to be deplored, but to put down senseless criticism of this sort with a high hand would be to attach to it an importance which does not belong to it. To fancy that these insane utterances of one section of the native press are so many proofs of latent disaffection among the masses, is to argue against all probability and common sense.

Besides, it must not be forgotten, that natives are not now, for the first time, saying hard things of their alien rulers. More than a generation and a half ago, when Ram Mohun Roy and his party had great influence with young Bengal, the *Reformer*



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was established. That publication has been thus described (*Calcutta Review*, January 1845. Art. "Literary Effort in Bengal") :—"In politics the *Reformer* at first assumed a tone of rancorous and indiscriminating violence towards the British Government, out-doing the wildest flights to which ultra-Radicalism has ever soared in these lands. A nondescript species of native oligarchy and republicanism combined was the panacea proposed for remedying all the ills of India." Nothing worse, if anything so bad, as is described here, has been written of the Baroda deposition or any other of the topics which have recently stirred native opinion to its depths. The completeness, cruel completeness, with which the Mutiny of 1857 was put down, has placed a bar upon future military uprisings, and though it is hard to fairly judge of the tendencies of the times in which a writer lives, seeing how much men are, insensibly may be, influenced by those very tendencies in a thousand ways, while the feeling is apt to dominate which magnifies a slight movement into one of first importance, still there can be little question that if firmness and righteousness continue to be as wisely combined by the authorities in the days to come as they have been during the past few years, none but pacific revolutions need be feared. A native press, with good examples in its English contemporaries, and being severely let alone by Government will do much to hasten this consummation of settled rule and to place it on a sure foundation. There is a great faculty for self-administration in the smaller details of State and Municipal affairs amongst Hindus, especially those in the East and South, which must eventually be satisfied, and if only a proper ideal be set before the people, there is no reason why a strong nation should not be formed out of what have hitherto been antagonistic elements. Lord Northbrook placed a veto on Sir George Campbell's bill (adopted by the Bengal Legislative Council) to establish Municipalities in Bengal by reviving the Panchayets or Village Republics, and therein made one of the great mistakes of his rule. His argument was that the country was not yet ripe for the revival of an institution which they very well understood. This was in 1873. In 1875 even the English newspapers were expressing the belief that the time was ripe for the adoption of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal's policy. Sir George Campbell, addressing the Social Science Association in Calcutta, in January, 1874, said :—"In fact it is my belief that if the Association, after taking up the subjects in the order in which I have mentioned, comes to a successful development of the question of self-Government, this Association, from a Social Parliament, which I have already said I consider it ought to be, may in time become a real Parliament. It is quite possible that our grandchildren may see a Bengali House



of Commons sitting in this place." He concluded his address by expressing a hope that every person would put his "shoulders to the wheel to make the Association a Social Parliament, and through that Social Parliament to obtain progress in this country, and to hasten the day when a Bengali House of Commons may take our place." The seed then dropped, has not been allowed to fall into stony ground nor have weeds choked it. It crops up in speeches at social meetings: reformers in Madras frequently remind their countrymen of the prospect, and it soon will be, if it is not already, a prominent article in the creed of the more progressive Indians. The power thus shadowed forth may be safely given, a few years hence, to those races who show themselves most anxious for it, and are most fitted to intelligently exercise it. The conclusion is not necessarily involved that English control shall be taken from India. Rather, as a directing power, would British influence become greater. To the end predicted by Sir G. Campbell, the Bengal Native papers at least will, and do, devote all their energies, and in so far as they do this temperately, may be held to be doing good service to the State.

Mr. Lely, in his remarks in the *Indian Economist*, draws attention to one pregnant fact in connection with the native papers which is important in the view now being taken of the future. It is this: that the Indian vernacular journal has a greater effect upon the mind of the reader than an English paper can have upon an Englishman, because, practically, it is all the reading the ryot, and even a member of some higher classes has access to. While the English artisan or labourer has recourse to a vast literature enriched from many sources, this is not the case with the Hindu; and though cheap literature will undoubtedly march side by side with the newspaper—the latter, occupying the ground first, and having more diversified contents, will always be most influential. The students of one branch of art or science, the men of one book, are proverbial for the tenacity with which they cling to their (perhaps) narrow acquisition. So is it, and so will it be, in increasing force with the Indian newspaper reader. The native journal will become to him what the Chartist paper never was even to the followers of Thomas Cooper, Ernest Jones, and others, and that influence was marvellous; or what *Lloyd's Newspaper* and the *News of the World* were to the artisan of England in the Reform agitation which resulted in the Tory Household Suffrage (Boroughs) Bill. Streams confined in narrow channels always have strongest force, and though it may be said that all India is a wide enough field for newspaper enterprise, there is a fact to be noted here, which will not be without its effect, no small effect, on the vernacular paper of the future. Wanting the enterprise and energy of the English and American



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newspaper proprietor, the Indian journalist will have no need to go far afield and gather intelligence from the ends of the earth for the delectation of his readers. That will be done in coming days, as it now is, by his English contemporaries, from whom he can quote all he desires. The consequence will be a greater concentration of native opinion and discussion upon home subjects, and a race of patriots of the most fervent order is likely to be a result. Every one can see what a similar state of things has created in the United States of America, which are cut off from close and pressing European influence, and with Canada too much like themselves to have anything but a stimulating effect.\* Not that there is any fear of the Bengali, Madrassee, or Bombayite becoming Anglicized, except each assimilating after his own order, and consonant with his own traditions. It seems to the writer more than probable, that brought abreast with the age by the three forces of Representation, Equal Rights, and the Supremacy of Law† the Indian will develop a patriotism more of the United States than of the English pattern. This is one of the lines on which the Indian vernacular newspaper of the future will, most likely, be built.

At a meeting of the British Social Science Congress at Glasgow two years ago, a distinguished Tamil gentleman, Sir Coomara Swamy, M.L.C., (Ceylon) read a paper on Science Education in India; and, in conclusion, pictured a time when an Indian-built and manned steamer should sail from the Hughli and enter the port of London, or of New York. Though, as Sir John Hawkshaw, in his address as President of the British Association at Bristol, stated, "India, from thirty or forty centuries ago, was skilled in the manufacture of iron and cotton goods," and though cotton factories are rapidly extending in the Bombay presidency while jute mills are rising in great number in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, machinery primarily destined for manufactories in Dundee being shipped to Eastern India; coal is too sparsely distributed over the continent to permit of India ever becoming a great manufacturer of goods for export. Rather than that, an active artisan population, in

\* Oliver Wendell Holmes, in his "Autocrat of the Breakfast Table," gravely argues that the Christian religion has yet to be Americanized before it is fully fitted to suit the wants of the people of the great Western Republic. Similarly, European civilization and Christianity must be Indianized (not idolatrized by any means) to make worship acceptable, before being generally accepted.

† Professor Thorold Rogers, in a

review of "Order and Progress" by Frederick Harrison. *Academy*, September, 1875. It is interesting to notice that of these three supports of Modern Civilization two are decidedly Oriental. Equal Rights came from the Jew; Representation (in a nascent form) has long been practiced by Hindus, though it owes its full development to the Anglo-Saxon race; while Legal Supremacy came from a quasi-oriental people, the Romans.



most parts not urban,—and that means nearly all India,—may be looked for, a people strongly conservative because of their direct interest in land. A reform, in which the zemindars will have less social influence and a diminished possession of the soil, while the cultivators shall have a greater share, is what the vernacular papers to some extent, are already committed to; but the object sought is not so nakedly expressed. Though the British Government has found a most difficult problem in dealing with the ownership of the soil of India, and though a “permanent settlement” is held to have been arranged in some cases; it does not require much insight into the movements of social life in India to hazard the prediction that the real “permanent settlement” has yet to come, and that it will be more in favour of small holdings than of large properties. Great reputations for statesmanship have been made in India, but there are greater yet to be won. The object of fighting, amongst even the most warlike of peoples, is for the possession of soil, so fascinating is the effect of this kind of wealth on mankind; and it is quite within the range of possibility that a course of legislation of the kind hinted at, supported by the vernacular journals with all the power they will have, when this subject is ripe for legislation, might be found as suitable for the fiercer tribes in the Central, North-West and Northern Provinces of India, as for the milder peoples of the East and South.

However all this may be, it is safe to allege (“errors and omissions excepted”) that in the not distant future, the vernacular Press of this country will have assumed a distinctive character. That character may be broadly sketched. From the “abode of snow” in the far North to the cotton port of Tuticorn, the railway terminus in the extreme South, the vernacular newspaper will most likely be—

(a) Of conservative tendencies, only so far, however, as “India for the Indians” is concerned: to that point intensely, even ultra, Radical;

(b) Absorbingly national: “There is no land but one land, and that land is India;”

(c) Will not advocate the ousting of the foreigner by main force—great reliance being placed on moral ideas and their efficacy; time for their operation being given;

(d) Will become the strong foe of idolatry and the defective scientific knowledge of heathen systems, without necessarily becoming Christian, though the actively Christian press should be a strong wing of the Native press;



(e) Will accept the civilization of the age with its material triumphs, wedding it to the philosophic lore of Oriental spiritual self-consciousness, which latter will thereby become purified and strengthened; and

(f) Possibly, may find a solution to the problem of English occupation, by first advocating, then agreeing to, a Federation with those who long have been alien rulers, but who have taught the ruled great things whereby they also have become mighty.

By the time that this last named feature in an imaginary programme is worked out, India would probably be the largest link, as regards population at least, in the chain of a Federated British Empire which will nearly encircle the globe. India would be greater in such a company than ever she would standing alone; and, as a subsidiary matter, showing how the poet's dream of one century becomes the prosaic duty of the statesman in the next, would then be realised what the present poet laureate of England long ago foreshadowed, when he wrote of a

"Federation of the world,

"When the war drum throbs no longer and the battle-flags are furled."

All this is not rodomontade, or unsubstantial dream; but, as it seems to the writer, the necessary outcome of a properly ruled Indian Empire and a materially-developed Native Press. The expression of such a consummation, however, frequently serves to rouse the contempt and scorn of a portion of the Anglo-Indian press; which press, with a few honorable exceptions, is never so scathingly satirical as when some such view as the foregoing of the future of India is put forward, and the possibility of increased power being granted to the "sons of the soil" is hinted at. About nothing are such pithy phrases of serene contempt uttered as against reformers with such an end in view, as has been referred to. It is not forgotten by the writer that there are social forces which may change the tone of the press from the line indicated to a worse one, but such forces are not now apparent, while the results indicated are already foreshadowed. In any case, there can be no harm in showing to Native Editors, the direction of the ideal already grasped, the ultimate object to be attained by a steady high-minded progress after the ideal; not only that they may see the development of their present work, but also that they may fittingly prepare themselves to properly carry it out on a larger scale.

All the progress alluded to may go on side by side with that "rectification of the frontiers" which seems inevitable, involving



the (probable) peaceable occupation of Afghanistan as a safeguard to that nation and a barrier against Russian aggression in India, and on the South East the annexation of Upper Burma, and an overland trade route to China, via Yunnan, thereby secured. Further than this it does not seem possible for British power to extend in the East. Great Britain owes it as a paramount duty to India not to look upon the land as an everlasting possession, nor to acknowledge the contingency of departing from its shores while its peoples are still unfit to rule themselves, but instead, lacking the cohesion supplied by a strong supreme authority, to fall asunder into a dozen conflicting nations, over whom the Muhammadan or some equally fierce religionist in frantic frenzy would march as conqueror, the land meanwhile sinking to its former deadness and despair. Or, it might be, that an ambitious European or Asiatic conqueror would dominate the land, and keep it under by a fierce despotic rule, so that English occupation would be as the "little finger"—compared with the "father's loins" threatened by King Rehoboam to the discontented Israelitish people who prayed that their burdens might be lightened. There is no strength like that which is developed from within. The British have the power to make India strong from the centre outwards, and one of the main features to this end will be the granting of power of self-government to those of the people most fitted for its exercise, and the maintenance of a free vernacular press. How long the ruling power may be engaged in evolving strong governments from among the people depends much upon the people themselves; the period is not to be accurately estimated. Certainly it is from institutions which grow from within, and not those introduced from the outside, however theoretically perfect they may be, that the greatest promise of stability arises. In any case, the vernacular press of India is destined to do a great deal in shaping the future of India, whatever that future may be. Let the authorities beware how they interfere too much with it on the one hand and thus stifle its free expansion, while, on the other, let them mend their policy in the North-West and cease to subsidise the papers in that region, thus preventing the expression of opinion calculated to be of much service to themselves. Upon the seed sown now and during the coming generation will depend the ripening of large fruit which shall be for good or for evil. It used to be said of Englishmen coming to India in the olden days, that they left their religion at the Cape. It would seem as if, now-a-days, one of the prominent articles in the creed of most Englishmen, *viz.*, that moral ideas rule the world, were deposited in the tanks at Aden on their way out; for though the Indian, of all men in the world, is most susceptible to the teaching of which the expression quoted is the germ, it is



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not tried with him. Let the present generation of Anglo-Indians re-learn this lesson, instil it in every possible manner into the minds of those Indians with whom they come into contact; and they will find that they are paving the way for a moral triumph, the victory of the Indian over himself, which shall bring greater glory, of a higher order, to the English name than that glory of material conquest which the British have so long enjoyed, and nowhere so splendidly won as in the East. But another day is breaking now; has, indeed, already broken!

WM. DIGBY.



## ART. VIII.—BENGALI, SPOKEN AND WRITTEN.

THE language of a people is a reflex of that people's mind. In language is faithfully mirrored every stage of social progress. Human development can never rest fixed at a point; language, like other human appurtenances must, therefore, change. In the past, languages have changed, and in the future too, they must change, unless by some inconceivable process all human affairs were to come to a stand-still. But people who speak any particular language at a particular time, scarcely ever imagine that that language should ever change; and the great majority of Englishmen and Frenchmen, at the present day, little think that the languages they speak, now so full of vigorous life, could ever undergo any very extensive modification. Without a knowledge of the past history of languages, the possibility of a change would indeed be inconceivable. To the ignorant, therefore, lingual change must be an absolute inconceivability. But that people fully cognizant of the unstable, changeable, character of languages should nevertheless try, though in vain, to give it fixity, after it had arrived at a certain stage of growth, by persistently ignoring changes that have actually taken place in the current speech, would be quite unintelligible, but that we actually find this to be the case. In this, as in a host of other cases, we find that things, after they have acquired a definite existence, do obstinately resist the action of all antagonistic forces. This principle of conservation must be particularly strong in literary languages, for these are sure to be supported by the whole weight of learning; and learning in all ages has made itself the champion, in numerous instances, of the outgrown, the obsolete, and the useless. The bias of learning has thus helped to keep the written language of every country, at any given time, a little behind the spoken, a little archaic in comparison with the latter.\*

Another difference between written and spoken language must arise from the fact of the former being altogether a higher

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\* In some respects, however, the written language of a country must be in advance of the spoken. Increasing knowledge makes it necessary to borrow or invent new words, and such words must make their way into colloquial speech through the written. The invention of words like *oxygen* and *international*, and the adoption (in English) of words like *geist* are cases in point. New words relating to the ordinary affairs of life, must first make their appearance, however, in colloquial speech, and gradually force their way up to books. But for all this, the most advanced phase of a language at any given time must, generally speaking, be the form of it currently spoken at the time. The best model for writers to follow would, therefore, be the *spoken* tongue.



instrument than the latter. In oral conversation, there cannot be anything like that systematic grouping, that co-ordination and subordination of thought, that there can be in writing. Grouping of thought does not necessitate, however, any departure from the current grammar or the current vocabulary. It is only in poetry, and other artistic productions, that archaisms are allowable for the sake of æsthetic effect.

Some difference then between written and spoken language may be unavoidable from the very nature of things—nay desirable,—but it is certainly as desirable that this difference should be at its minimum. In our Bengali language, however, the divergence between its spoken and written forms, is about as wide as it well can be; and a discussion of this question, with suggestions for remedying the evil, is to form the subject of the present paper.

Grammar and vocables exhaust the whole field of spoken language. In respect of written language, however, the graphic system has further to be considered.

First, in respect of grammar, written Bengali differs from\* spoken Bengali far more than is perhaps the case with any other living human language. Indeed obsolete grammatical forms which, if employed in speaking, would call forth laughter, are the accre-

\*European scholars are often misled by our book Bengali and so called Bengali grammars. Prof. Max. Muller in his *Stratification of Language* says, "We have learnt that in some of the dialects of modern Sanskrit, in Bengali for instance, the plural is formed, as it is in Chinese, by adding a word expressive of plurality . . . ." pp. 11 and 12. Another eminent orientalist, the extent and depth of whose knowledge of the Indian Aryan vernaculars surpasses that of any other living scholar, has fallen into the same error, and doubtless from the same cause. Mr. Beames in his article on the early Vaishnava poets of Bengal in the *Indian Antiquary* for February 1873, has the following: "There is [in the Bengali of Bidyapati's time] no distinctive form for the plural. When it is necessary to express the idea of plurality very distinctly, words like *sab*, 'all'; *anek*, 'many,' and the like are used. Occasionally also we find *gana*, 'crowd' as a first faint indication of what was subsequently to become the regular sign of the plural in Bengali." *Gana* is no doubt the regular plural sign in book-Bengali, but it

is never employed in current speech. The modern plural stands for the old dual and plural both. *Rā* is a plural termination in this sense; *Gana* however is a true collective. It will never, even in writing, be used for two individuals. The employment of the plural form in Bengali is far more rational than it is in English. When a numeral or any other adjective signifying more than one, qualifies a noun, the plural termination is *universally* (in English, this is the case only in a few instances) dropped. The same is partially the case with Hindustani, but partially only. Hindustani nouns ending in *ā* particularly refuse to drop the plural termination. Final *ā* has kept Hindustani backward also in other ways. Adjectives ending in *ā* (including participles and the genitive particle *kā*) are the only Hindustani adjectives that are declined. The full significance of the mischief that the distinction of gender in adjectives with a final *ā* has done, can be understood only when it is considered, that it is this that keeps alive the artificial distinction of gender in Hindustani at all. If Hindu-



dited book Bengali forms. Dramas, novels, and newspapers have indeed begun to partially adopt current grammatical forms, and this I look upon as the instrument which is destined eventually to effect a thorough revolution. Men are gradually being accustomed to see in print colloquial forms side by side with the usual obsolete forms used in writing. Old associations are being thus gradually loosened, and men's minds prepared for the utter exclusion in writing, eventually, of the grammatical forms that have become extinct in the spoken tongue.

Some of the inflexions of nouns and pronouns, the conjugations of verbs and the distinction of gender in nouns and adjectives, furnish very important points of difference between spoken and written Bengali. Several of these differences are to be traced to the influence of Sanskrit, and have been in part but recent innovations in a backward direction; while the others are archaic forms kept up in writing after they have dropped out of use in the spoken tongue. Illustrations will best shew the extent of the differences.

The proper Bengali plural termination of both nouns and pronouns is *râ* in the nominative case, and in this the book language is at one with the spoken. Along with this *râ*, however, Bengali forms\* collectives by adding words signifying a group, and these words in current Bengali are *guno*, *guni*, *gulo*, *guli*, *gulin* (corruptions, probably, of the Sanskrit *gana*), and *sakol* (Sanskrit *sakala*). Written Bengali though employing *guli* and *gulin*, and also *gulâ* and *sakal* for *gulo* and *sakol* respectively, delights in the use of words of a genuine Sanskrit stamp—*gana* (pronounced *gan*) *samûha* (pronounced *somuha*) *vrinda* (pronounced *brinda*), *mandali* (pronounced *mondoli*) &c.,—words that are never employed in current speech.

In the oblique cases of nouns, too, there are differences. Current speech has *âmâder†* for the obsolete *âmâdiger* (ours) and *âmâdigake* (to us) of books.

stani participles, (both present and perfect) did not all end in *â*, and if there were not likewise a large number of ordinary adjectives ending in *â*, the artificial distinction of gender, which is the worst defect of the Hindustani language, would have long since disappeared. Spoken Bengali knows no distinction of gender in adjectives, and has the gender of nouns entirely coincident with sex, being in this latter respect superior even to English, which yet continues, in a few cases, to assign gender to inanimate objects. That this artificial assignment of gender is not an altogether defunct principle in the Eng-

lish language, is seen in the fact that railway trains have been femininised.

\* *Amâder*, for *to us*, seems to be abbreviated from *âmâderke*, the postposition *ke* being dropped.

† I am fully aware that there are dialectic differences in Bengali. This question is to be taken up further on. By spoken Bengali may here be understood the Bengali spoken in that part of the country which lies along the Hugli. The dialectic varieties of Bengali, in at least the Western half of the country, differ much less from one another than each does from the written form of the language.



Into written Bengali, a vocative case has further been introduced. Our learned Pandits have evidently thought it an imperfection in Bengali that it should not have the full complement of Sanskrit cases. In the Bengali Grammar books, read in our schools, the Bengali cases are given the same in number as in Sanskrit. The fact, however, is that the instrumental case is wholly wanting in Bengali, the idea of instrumentality or agency being expressed, like numerous other relations, by some post-position after the genitive. The vocative case also is altogether wanting, the nominative form being universally employed in address. In this latter case our Pandits have been in sore straits. They have not been able, as in the matter of the instrumental case, to erect the genitive with certain post-positions into a case. They have transferred therefore bodily the Sanskrit vocative form into Bengali; and so it is that words like *sakhe* (pronounced *sakhe*), *pitah*, &c., have taken a firm hold of written Bengali.

The Bengali instrumental too calls for remark. The current language is without any instrumental case, agency being expressed by putting *dvára*, and instrumentality by putting *de*, after the genitive. In writing, an instrumental (expressive of agency as well as instrumentality proper) is manufactured, however, by the employment of *dvára* (pronounced *ddára*) and dropping the genitive sign of the preceding noun. There is besides another word, *kartrik*, very largely employed in writing to indicate agency, but which, when employed in oral speech, becomes a true post-position by coming after the genitive case.

The ablative case-ending of books is always *haite*, the corresponding colloquial form *hote* being at the same time occasionally employed in novels and dramas. For expressing the ablative relation, however, *theke* and *tháim* (after the genitive) are more largely employed in current speech than *hote*; and in this, as in other kindred matters, there can be no reason why the written should differ from the spoken language. The plural oblique case forms of book Bengali, differ also from those of spoken Bengali. *Digake* (accus. and dat.) and *diger* (gen.) of the former are represented by *der* in the latter.

The difference in the verb forms may now be pointed out:

In the spoken tongue, the infinitive and the perfect participle have the same form: *kará*, to do, doing, and *kará* also done. Bengali grammar books would scarcely recognise the form *kará* at all. The infinitive would be put down as *karana* (*karan*) and the perfect participle as *krita*. But unwilling though our grammar-makers are to admit the actual infinitive and perfect participle forms as *correct* forms, they are actually employed in writing. This, however, is not enough. The corresponding Sanskrit forms, except such as have been thoroughly naturalised in the spoken tongue,



should be eschewed entirely ; for where the resources of the language do of themselves suffice, no benefit can result from borrowing.

The following table will show the most important differences in the verb forms of written and spoken Bengali :—

1 Book Bengali; 2 Calcutta Bengali; 3 Nadia; 4 Maldah Bengali ; 5 Dacca Bengali.

(I or We)	have done ...	† Kariáchhi.	Korichi	...	...	Korichhi	...	Koirachhi.		
(I am or (we) are	doing	...	Karitechhi...	Kochchi	...	...	Kochchhi	...	Kortechhi.	
(I or we) did	Karilám	...	Kollum	or	rarely Kollem	Kollám...	Kollēm*	...	Korlám.	
(I) was or (we) were	doing	...	Karitechhilám	Kochchhilum or	rarely Koch- chehhilem...	...	Kochchflēm.			
(I or we)	used to do	Karitam	...	Kottum	or	rarely Kot- tum	Kottám...	...	Kottēm	Kartám
(I or we)	will do...	Kariba	...	Korbo	...	...	...	Korbo.		

It will be seen that the Bengali dialects spoken in the Western half of Bengal differ much less from one another in point of grammar than each does from the standard book-Bengali. The East Bengal dialects would seem to be nearer this standard, but in the long run they would tend more and more to divest themselves of their peculiarities and shape themselves more and more after the pattern of the metropolitan dialect. The very inability of East Bengal people to pronounce aspirate sounds marks out the dialects they speak as inferior, at least in one respect, to those spoken in the Western section of the country. East Bengal

† The Bengali alphabet very inadequately represents the vowel sounds of the language. The unrepresented sounds are the following :—

1. The vowel sound in dal (pulses) kal (to-morrow) &c., differing respectively from the vowel sound in dal (branch), kal (time) &c.
2. The vowel sound in meje (floor), mete (earthen) &c., differing respectively from the vowel sound in meje (on table), mete (be settled), &c.
3. The vowel sound in êk (one), ê in bën (frog), &c. This sound corresponds with that of a in man.

4. The first vowel sound in ghoti (water-pot), bori (pill) &c. The difference between this sound and the ordinary sound of o can be clearly seen on comparing gole (in noise) with gole (having melted).

The above vowel sounds are represented in this paper by *d* (Italic,) *e* (Italic), *ê* and *o* (Italic) respectively.

The representation of *ṣ* by *ch* is simply absurd. It would be better to represent *ṣ* by *c* only. The superfluous letter *c* of the Latin alphabet would thus be utilised. There is the further recommendation that *c* has already this sound in Italian. Prof. Monier Williams' transliteration of *ṣ* by *c* with a dot over the letter is greatly to be preferred to *ch*. *Sh* would be equally absurd with *ch*, if employed to represent *শ* but it is usually not so employed. It is made to represent *স* however. But *s* + *h* can never produce the sound represented by *শ*. *শ* is represented in this paper by *s*. The Bengali *শ* has generally this sound too, and when a phonetic representation has appeared necessary, it has been represented by *s*.

The Bengali *ম* has been represented in this paper by *m*, and *ন* by *n*.

*ফ*, *ভ* *দ*, and the Ar. *غ* have been represented by *f*, *r*, *t*, *n* and *g* respectively.



people themselves are anxious to assimilate their speech to that of West and Central Bengal. All peculiarities whatever of the East Bengal or any other Bengali dialect need not, however, disappear. But on this subject the writer's views will be stated more fully further on.

The subject of gender next calls for remark. In the living Bengali tongue there is no trace left of any artificial distinction of gender, but in writing, this worst of encumbrances is sedulously kept up. If *prithibi* (*prithivī*) is feminine in Sanskrit, it must be so perforce in Bengali, and this although the language has now utterly outgrown that stage of grammatical development in which there is an arbitrary assignment of gender to inanimate objects. Not only in assigning gender to the names of lifeless things do Bengali writers seek to carry the language back to a state it has outgrown, they Sanskritise the grammar farther by assigning gender to adjectives, a thing quite foreign to the spoken language. On this point it may be maintained that in cases where the noun of which it is an attribute, is of the female sex, the adjective in spoken Bengali does take a feminine form. This too, I think, is only partially true, if true at all. *Buddhimati*, *rupubati*, *sundari* are used in connection with the names of persons of the female sex. But such adjectives have come to be used substantively in the language, and their being regarded as *female names* has much to do with their application in the current language. That words like *buddhiman*, *buddhimati*, &c., are used substantively cannot be disputed. The crucial test of inflection proves that they have become substantives in Bengali. It is enough to mention that *buddhimaner*, *buddhimatike* are in use in current Bengali. With regard to *sundari*, it has further to be said that *sundar* is certainly used in connection with feminine nouns, at least by people unlearned in the book language.

Even if the point that a few Sanskrit adjectives naturalised in Bengali still retain in the latter their original feminine forms were fully conceded, it would by no means follow that every adjective taken from Sanskrit should retain the same privilege. That a distinction of gender in adjectives is wholly alien to the spirit of the Bengali language is plain from the fact that no genuine Bengali adjective is ever varied in respect of gender: *motá*, *chhoto*, *kálo* &c., would be used both for males and females, unlike Hindustani which has *motá* and *motí*, *chhotá*, and *chhotí*, *kálá* and *kálí* &c. In the matter of gender, as in most other matters, a slavish adherence to Sanskrit has very much encumbered the written Bengali language.

The union of words by means of *Sandhi* is a characteristic feature of the Sanskrit language, but not of Sanskrit alone. There is such



union in French as *d'or* from *de + or*, and in Arabic as *dár-us*\*—*saltanat* from *dár-ul-saltanat*; *ud-din* from *ul-din*. In Sanskrit, however, there is more of such union perhaps than in any other human language. *Sandhi* is a very intelligible, rational process in Sanskrit. By it 'economy of breath' is secured. But though a rational process in Sanskrit, it is unreason itself when transferred bodily, as it has been, into Bengali. Illustrations will shew this best:—*Manu + adi = manvadi* in Sanskrit. This is very intelligible indeed: *uá* changes, for facility of pronunciation, into *vá* or rather *wá*. What is this *sandhi*, however, in Bengali? *Manu + adi* (in Bengali) = *manbádi* to the eye, and *mannádi* to the ear. Bengali Pandits teach, as if it were an unalterable law of nature, that *u* is changed into *b*. The bewildered pupil cannot of course see the *rationale* of this, and he plies hard his memory, therefore, to get by heart what he is taught. Indeed a good deal of stupid docility is necessary to make one learn the rules of Sanskrit *Sandhi* as they are taught in Bengal. The object of *sandhi* in Sanskrit was economy. In Bengali, it is only a mystification and an obstruction. *Manu ádi* in Bengali would be faultless. *Manbádi* would be pedantry merely.

The question of *Samás* need not detain us long. *Samás* adds greatly to the power of a language; and it may be necessary to sparingly borrow, from Sanskrit, words compounded agreeably to the rules of *Samás*. There are, however, genuine *Samás* compounds in Bengali; which in this respect has a somewhat higher capacity than Hindustani, which forms only a few compounds of this sort, such as *pan-chakki*, *jeb-katra*, &c. In Bengali, however, there are lots of such compounds: *'ámbbgách sosurbári*, *hátbákso gámtkátá*, &c., are instances. Instead of servilely borrowing from Sanskrit in every instance, it would be more rational to avail ourselves of the inherent capacity of our language, and form compounds out of its existing materials. The adoption of compounds like *janaika* is wholly indefensible; for, to say nothing of the fact that *ka + jana* is, on psychological grounds, a preferable expression to *jana + eka*, we have already in Bengali, the expression *janek* (as in *janek-dujon*). *Janaika*, therefore, serves no other purpose than to display before the reader the writer's knowledge of Sanskrit grammatical rules.

Bengali, though superior in many respects to Hindustani, in the simplicity and logical accuracy of its grammatical structure, is inferior, however, to the latter, in several ways. It is not so self-sufficing as Hindustani is; it is much poorer in its derivatives, and must have, accordingly, to lean more upon its parent tongue, Sanskrit. It has few abstract nouns of its own, derived from cur-

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\* The word is so pronounced, though written *dar-ul-saltanat*.



rent attributive or common terms. To the attributive terms, *motá*, *lambá*, *chaorá*, &c. it has no abstract terms to correspond, such as Hindustani possesses in *mutái*, *lambái*, &c.—Verbs in Bengali have no personal nouns derived from them; there is *chalá*, for instance, corresponding to the Hindustani *chalná*, but no word to answer to *chalnewálá*. *Kháiyē*, *gáiyē*, and a few other words may be mentioned as instances of verb-derived personal nouns; but besides being extremely limited in number, some of them have a specialised meaning: *Kháiyē* means not eater, but a good eater. In respect of abstract nouns derived from verbs, such as *knowledge* from *know*, Bengali and Hindustani are nearly equally in fault, and both have, therefore, in most cases, to borrow. In borrowing abstract terms from Sanskrit, in the case of Bengali, careful discrimination, however, is necessary. In Sanskrit, abstract terms are formed by adding *tá*, *twa*, and *ya* to the attributive root-word. In the current language, abstract terms in *tá*, *twa* (pronounced *tto*) and *ya*, which last re-duplicates the final consonant of the attributive, and adds thereto the sound of *o*, are found; but in respect of new importations it would be best, perhaps, if they could be restricted to abstract terms in *tá*. This particle undergoes no change of sound in Bengali like *twa* and *ya*; and it is besides more consonant to the genius of Bengali to form derivatives by additions at the end simply, without causing any change in the root-word, while *ya*-formed abstract terms change the vowel sounds of the rootword; as, for instance, *prádhánya* (pronounced in Bengali *prádhánno*) from *pradhána* (in Bengali *pradhán*) &c. This latter circumstance gives *tá* no advantage however over *twa*. Indeed *twa* in its Bengali form of *tto*, has, unlike *tá* and *ya*, been *thoroughly* naturalised in Bengali. Truly Bengali words like *baro* &c., form abstract nouns by the addition of *tto*. The right course for us would seem to be to recognise *tto* as a Bengali abstract suffix, and to give it a wider extension than at present. Perhaps examples drawn from other languages may help us to overcome our love for *twa*, which old association has generated. The Latin *trinitas* has given rise to It. *trinità*, Fr. *trinité*, Sp. *trinidad*, and Eng. *trinity* (*triniti*). When such modifications have been undergone by a Latin abstract suffix, and those modifications are distinctly recognised in the most important living languages, why should not a similar modification, in Bengali, of a Sanskrit suffix be duly recognised; why should it be kept so disguised by a vicious system of writing as to pass as identical with its parent form?

The want of ordinals may be mentioned as another instance of the natural poverty of the Bengali language. Ordinals are borrowed from Sanskrit; and from Hindustani also, in the single instance of dates. In this latter case, however, the ordinals have become in



fact substantives. The genitives of the cardinal numerals do in colloquial Bengali the work of ordinals; duiyer, tiner &c., stand for 2nd, 3rd &c. Often, instead of the genitive form of the cardinal numeral, a noun in the genitive form is used after the cardinal. Thus 3rd day would be expressed, not by tiner din, but by tin diner din. This is no doubt a cumbrous circumlocution, but things must be taken as they are.

As regards the ordinals then, since the existing resources of the Bengali language suffice for expressing all that is expressed by means of ordinals, there is no necessity for falling back upon Sanskrit. A larger employment of the genitives of the numerals than is done in the current language seems to be the direction in which writers should work, instead of overburdening the language with the Sanskrit ordinals. When Sanskrit and Bengali numerals do differ but slightly as pámch and pancha, an incorporation of corresponding Sanskrit ordinals may not seem to be the introduction of a discordant element. When any of the higher numerals, however, are taken, it is found that the Bengali words by reason of their higher trituration and integration differ greatly from their Sanskrit originals; and in such cases the Sanskrit ordinals, if used in Bengali, would seem highly discordant. *Sixty-fifth* would be *paim-sattir* in current Bengali, while the Sanskrit for it is *pancha-sashtitama*. In addition to the reason that such a word, as the last, is not needed in Bengali, its very length ought to be a serious objection. If any borrowing indeed, were necessary in the present instance, I would be more for giving a preference to the handier ordinals of the Hindustani language to their seven-leagued Sanskrit counter-parts, especially as in this very case, there has been borrowing already from Hindustani in the matter of dates, *pahlá*, *dusrá* &c., &c., being all Hindustani. The Sanskrit ordinals that have been thoroughly naturalised in Bengali are few, as *prathama*, *dvitiya* and *dvádas*. It need hardly be repeated here that I do not in this instance advocate borrowing at all. It is to be mentioned also that our Bengali writers do not confine themselves to borrowing the ordinals from Sanskrit, but borrow, without any necessity whatever, the cardinals also. Eleven, for instance, would be *ekádas* and not *ëgáro*; forty, *chattárin*sat and not *challis*; two hundred, *dui sata* and not *du-so*, twenty-five thousand, *pamchavinsa sahasra*; and not *pomchis házár*.

Besides those already mentioned there are other derivatives likewise which a cultivated language cannot do without. In our current Bengali speech, for instance, we have a word for man, but none for human, \* a word for do, but none for practicable. In

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\* In current Bengali the genitives attributives like *human* and *practicable* of nouns and infinitives do duty for *cable* respectively.



cases where the existing formative powers of the language do not suffice, it would be best to fall back upon Sanskrit. Care, however, should be taken that our language is not unnecessarily burdened; that it is not made to depend more upon the rules of Sanskrit grammar than is absolutely necessary. The object aimed at should be to bring Bengali to a position of independence, and not to keep it perpetually in leading strings. Indiscriminate borrowers from Sanskrit ought again to remember that to master the rules of Sanskrit grammar requires a considerable expenditure of brain power, and that if Sanskrit grammatical forms are to pass current in written Bengali, a large number of human beings will have to incur such expenditure for the acquisition of knowledge of a most elementary kind even. But more of this hereafter.

The question of grammatical forms being now disposed of, the even more important question of vocables may now be taken up. The inflected forms of words, as well as other derivatives, are indeed vocables, inasmuch as they have each an independent existence in the language. What has been said about grammatical forms and derivatives covers therefore a part of the present subject. Grammatical forms and derivatives fall under a few general laws, however; and these laws form but a small item by the side of the numerous body of main words, which, though originally significant of attributes, have come to be now mere conventional symbols for objects and ideas. What is to be said here about vocables may be understood to apply to this latter class of words.

The vocables in use in Bengali, written and spoken, are divisible into three classes. (1) Sanskrit-derived words, but so much altered from their original form as to have necessitated their being written differently from Sanskrit. (2) Sanskrit words bodily transferred, which, though retaining their original spelling, are for the most part pronounced in a peculiarly Bengali way. (3) Words of non-Sanskrit parentage.

The first class of words forms the great body of the spoken language. In the written language, however, they are seldom admitted except in dialogues. Their Sanskrit originals, as a rule, get the preference, and they themselves are cast aside as vulgar.\* In mere introductory primers current words are for the most part employed, but side by side with them, there occur also

Besides the advantage gained in respect of variety of expression, an important purpose is served by terms like *human*, which signify all sorts of relations, that of possession being included. The genitive, whatever its original signification may have been, tends to be restricted to the idea of possession, and this specialisation of

meaning makes it necessary that there should be derivative terms signifying all sort of relations.

\* The rejection of words which are really vulgar is not objected to here. But why words that are in the mouths of the highest-born and the most learned should be branded as vulgar is what certainly passeth comprehension.



their Sanskrit originals. If there are such words as *bhái*, *kál* (to-morrow), *kán*, *chok*, *soná* (sona) &c., there are also *bhrátá*, *kalyá*, *karna*, *svarna*, &c. It seems, colloquial words are employed at all simply because there is no doing without them. The child knows them and knows no others, and must be first taught to read by means of words that he knows, and not by means of their learned equivalents. But the great object aimed at is to teach the pupil such equivalents in as much profusion and within as short a time as possible. So soon, therefore, as he has mastered the difficulties of Bengali alphabetic writing, one important part of his education comes to be the acquisition of Sanskrit vocables accompanied by a sedulous inculcation on the part of the teacher, that in writing, these vocables should be always employed in lieu of Bengali words that he is familiar with. *Every child in Bengal that learns to read has to learn the Sanskrit equivalents of the commonest names.* He has learnt to call copper *támhá*, leaf *páta*, head *mátá*, horse *ghomrá*, rice *chál* and so forth; but these he must discard for *támra*, *patra*, &c. What is the earthly good of all this, it is not easy to see; and yet the fact is nothing less than what it is here stated to be. The case is just as if every French child that learns to read and write were taught to write *ferrum* for *fer*, *aurum* for *or*, and so on to the end of the lexicon. From such a heavy and galling, but most unnecessary burden, deliverance is certainly desirable; but an established order of things must have numerous adherents, so that deliverance may be slow in coming after all.

The displacement of familiar Sanskrit-derived Bengali words by their Sanskrit originals can be justified on no reasonable grounds. The ousting of words of non-Sanskrit origin, whether aboriginal or foreign, is equally indefensible. Purism is radically unsound, and has its origin in a spirit of narrowness. In the free commingling of nations, there must be borrowing and giving. Can anything be more absurd than to think of keeping language pure, when blood itself cannot be kept pure? No human language has ever been perfectly pure, any more than any human race has been pure. Infusion of foreign elements do, in the long run, enrich languages, just as infusion of foreign blood improves races. Seeing then that languages, as men speak them, must be mixed, impure, heterogeneous; to reject words like *gorib* (Ar. *garíb*) and *dág* (Ar. *dàg*) &c., from books, on account of their foreign lineage would be most unreasonable. Current words of Persian or Arabic origin connect us, Hindus of Bengal, with Musalmán Bengalis, with the entire Hindustani-speaking population of India, and even with Persians and Arabs. Is it wise to seek to diminish points of contact with a large section of our fellow countrymen, and with kindred and neighbouring races, with whom we must



have intercourse, in order that we may draw closer to our Sanskrit-speaking ancestors?

Human happiness would seem to be better promoted by increased points of contact with *living* men than by increased points of contact with remote ancestors. But men are very often swayed in these matters by sentiment more than by reason. The feeling that impels Bengali Hindus towards Sanskrit is perfectly intelligible. With Sanskrit are associated the days of India's greatest glory, with Persian and Arabic the days of her defeat, humiliation, and bondage. The budding patriotism of Hindus everywhere would therefore naturally eschew Persian and Arabic words as badges of slavery. In the long run, however, considerations of utility are sure to over-ride mere sentimental predilections.

It should be understood that I do not advocate any fresh introduction of Arabic and Persian words, but insist only on the desirability of giving their full\* rights to such words as have already been naturalised in the language and are in everybody's mouth. Persian and Arabic words used by Bengalis ignorant of those languages ought to be accepted as right good Bengali. As a matter of fact, many such words, those connected with Law especially, are employed in writing; but the purist spirit is still very active, and a disinclination to admit such words into writing is yet but too common.

Not only does written Bengali, as a rule, seek to supplant current Bengali words by their Sanskrit equivalents; it keeps alive also the antiquated, obsolete forms of current words. These, having once obtained a recognised place in the language of writing, now refuse to be ousted from it. We call rice *chál*, but write it *chául*, *páthure* (stony) similarly becomes *páthuriá*, and the Node of colloquial speech is *Nadiá* in writing. But I need not multiply instances. So numerous are such differences that an inveterate notion seems to have gained a firm hold of the national mind that the current form of a word is not the correct† form.

I look upon this as a most unfortunate thing. The struggle

\* The *Sulabh Samáchr*, a professedly popular journal, is doing most useful work this way. But even the *Sulabh* is not wholly free from Sanskrit predilections. The word *Sulabh* itself, in the sense of cheap, is an unnecessary importation, and such expressions as *সময় কড়ন*, *ভদ্রপরি*, *রত্নপরি* &c., do occur in the paper. But for all this the people of Bengal are deeply indebted to the *Sulabh*, and to certain other newspapers also, though in a less degree.

† A striking instance of such notion is furnished by the word *Iráj*. *Irrej* is the common word for Englishman and *Iríji*, for English (the language). Whence then this *Iráj*? Its origin must be traced, I suppose, to the inveterate notion above-mentioned; plus the fact that the *ráj* in *Iráj* connects the word with the Bengali word *rájá*, a case analogous to the English corruption of *girasole* into *Jerusalem*.



with Sanskrit alone is no light affair, backed as Sanskrit must be with the entire bias of learning and wide-spread association; and Sanskrit here has a potent ally in the obsolete forms of words rendered classical by Kabikankan, Krittibás, Kasidas, and Bhárat-chandra.

The substitution of Sanskrit for current familiar words and of obsolete for current forms of a certain class of words may both be included under the head of "calling common things by uncommon names." Most of our writers are fully under the sway of this supposed purity-of-style fetish. It is amusing to contemplate the strange shifts to which even our best writers are driven to avoid current expressions. An illustration will shew this best. A writer of deservedly very high reputation has recourse to *utkhep* (*utkshep*) *kariá punarbár haste grahan kará*, as a substitute for the common expression *lopá*. Can anything be more awkward than this?

The rage for Sanskrit vocables manifests itself in matters, in which learning would seem to have little room. On the license plates of boats that ply in the river Hugli are to be seen *nábik* and *árohi* as the Bengali for crew and passenger respectively; but none of the crew of any boat, and ninety-nine hundredths of the passengers, have no notion of what the words *nábik* and *árohi* mean. Language has its many sides, and it is but reasonable that the carpenter, the boatman, the shoemaker should give the law in matters connected with carpentry, boat-rowing and shoe-making respectively; while in matters connected with science or scholarship, the savant or scholar should be the supreme arbiter. In Bengal, however, the Sanskrit-knowing Pandit has in a large measure assumed the function of determining the written language in all its aspects. The mental characteristics of the nation, and its historical antecedents have of course helped to bring about this result.

The present practice of borrowing from Sanskrit is based on no definite principle. Rational borrowing should seek only to supply a felt want. Where words are really wanting in Bengali, there must be borrowing. But such borrowing as has been above described is grounded on no necessity. No limit is set in fact to the extent to which words are to be borrowed from Sanskrit, so that every Sanskrit word is considered to have a rightful claim to be incorporated into Bengali. Is this to enrich the language or to overburden it? This indeed is carrying us back into the past with a vengeance. In the early flexible stage of Sanskrit, when its formative powers were active, whole hosts of words were formed to express the same thing. Those words were then, as philologists hold, transparent attributive terms, and not the arbitrary symbols that they afterwards became. Men could not, indeed, be so irra-



tional as to invent more than one arbitrary symbol for one and the same thing. Among the many significant symbols expressive of the same idea, there was a struggle for existence and a survival in the long run, of the fittest. More terms than one have in many cases survived; but on *a priori* grounds it is quite impossible that more than one could survive at the same spot, and among the same class of people. Distance of place, or peculiarities of social organization, by limiting intercourse, could alone cause a selection of different names for the same thing. There has further been a differentiation of meaning between words that originally meant exactly the same thing. Our Sanskrit school of writers would, however, undo all this. They would bring back the dead to life. They would restore to Bengali, which is one of the modern developments of Sanskrit, all the imperfections of the mother-tongue, that have been cast off for good. What a terrible legacy would a wholesale appropriation of the Sanskrit vocabulary leave to posterity? Men of capacity little think of the labor that the acquisition of a language costs; and of this labor the heaviest part is that required in mastering the vocabulary, which, consisting as it does for the most part, of arbitrary symbols, is dull, dreary matter to learn. Where arbitrary symbols furnish a key to valuable knowledge, the symbols ought surely to be learnt. In the present case, however, the labor spent on the acquisition of words would be vain, meaningless labor. What is the good of learning a new word where one does not learn a corresponding new idea with it? \* Perfection of language requires that no two words should express exactly the same idea, and that no two ideas should have the same name. No human language is indeed perfect like this, it is true. But this is no reason why we should work the other way, and go on sanctioning and accumulating defects.

The example of other languages is quoted as a ground for maintaining, and even widening existing differences between spoken and written Bengali. No doubt there are numerous instances in other languages of calling common things by uncommon names. This, however, cannot be looked upon as desirable on any account, and there is a visible tendency in English, at any rate, to assimilate closely the written to the spoken tongue. Dean Alford tells us, that the tendency to 'call common things by uncommon names' varies inversely as the writer's culture; and a late professor of English at the Presidency College used to say, that in

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\* This is to be taken with a certain limitation. The exigencies of rhythm, versification and artistic effect may make it desirable that there should be in a language more than one word to express the same thing. But all the words meaning the same thing, in a language, cannot be said to form in the same degree parts of the *living tissue* of the language. *Billow* is antique and the property of poets, while *wave* is the living word.



England, at the present day, the language spoken by the highest and best-educated has more in common with that of the lower orders than with that of men of inferior education. In taking a survey of the language of a country, the form of it peculiar to any large class of men, such as the men of inferior education in a community must form, is not of course to be left out of account. But the language of the class that stands highest in culture and social position is the standard to which the language of all sections of the community has a tendency to converge. The language of the highest and the most cultivated must be taken then as the normal standard of the language, and in the best English writers the tendency to 'call common things by uncommon names' must be at its minimum. Indeed so far as the cultivated and the uncultivated go together, common sense should dictate that there should be community of language. If indeed the object were to confine knowledge to a caste, there could not be a cleverer contrivance than to make the written language diverge widely from the spoken. Such a contrivance would carry with it its own Nemesis, however. Besides the unnecessary waste of brain-power implied in the acquisition of mere words without additional ideas, there must inevitably result a deterioration of the intellect when it busies itself with mere *word-knowledge*.

In dealing with the question of the employment of Sanskrit words in Bengali writing, the Bengali graphic system cannot be left out of account. This system is nearly as bad as the English; it departs nearly as much from correct phonetic representation as the latter. This however is a wide question in itself, and need not here be further noticed than its direct bearing upon the Sanskrit element of book-Bengali demands. The Bengali pronunciation of Sanskrit is as monstrous as the English pronunciation of Latin is or was till\* lately; and the Sanskrit words admitted into Bengali are of course all mispronounced, so that they are Sanskrit only to the eye, but not to the ear. This shews that the despised vernacular can, after a certain fashion, assert its rights against unjust encroachments. Let us come now to illustrations. The current Bengali equivalents of fish and sun are *mách* (old Bengali *máchb*) and *sujji* respectively. In books *mách* is made to give way to the Sanskrit *matsya* and *sujji* to *súrjya*, but instead of being pronounced as they are written, which, by the way would be the correct Sanskrit pronunciation, they are pronounced *motso* and *súrja* respectively. We acquire *mách* and *sujji* as a part of our mother-tongue, and the conventional necessity of having further to acquire their corrupt Sanskrit equivalents *motso* and *súrja*, I, for one, must deplore as a most oppressive and unprofitable burden.

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\* A reform has commenced in England in regard to Latin pronunciation.



There is another class of words which are wrongly accounted to be the same in Bengali as they are in Sanskrit. The Bengali and Sanskrit equivalents of *south* and *lord*, for instance, are written alike in both the languages; but while in Bengali, they are pronounced as *dokkhin* and *Issar* respectively, in Sanskrit they are *dakshina* and *isvara*.

It is plain then, that the so-called Sanskrit words in use in written Bengali are in fact neither Sanskrit nor Bengali, but monsters one knows not to call what. The unwise and indiscriminate transfer of Sanskrit words into Bengali has another bad effect little thought of. Certain sounds in Sanskrit are converted into certain other sounds in Bengali, according to definite laws, such as *S*. into *S*. These laws cannot be transgressed. Mispronunciation of Sanskrit words introduced into Bengali is therefore a sort of necessity, and this mispronunciation is imported back into Sanskrit, when the Bengali learns that language. The correct pronunciation of Sanskrit, if enforced in our Schools and Colleges, would be a most effective check on the present practice of indiscriminate borrowing from Sanskrit. But on this point hereafter.

The points discussed, and the results arrived at, may here be summarised. The \* grammar of written Bengali differs considerably from the grammar of current Bengali. For familiar words understood by all, every one who learns to read has to learn Sanskrit substitutes, and in many cases old Bengali substitutes likewise, which, having dropped out of colloquial speech, still retain their place in the language of books. The Sanskrit words in use in Bengali books are for the most part Sanskrit only to the eye, but none to the ear; for, though written just as they are in Sanskrit, they are pronounced in such a way as to make them almost unintelligible to those unfamiliar with the corrupt pronunciation of Sanskrit that prevails in Bengal.

All this of course has not been the work of a day. It has been the slow growth of ages. It has grown out of the mental characteristics, and the historical antecedents of the race. The question now is, whether the present is a state of things likely to last. The conviction of the present writer is that a change of a radical character is inevitable. The desirableness of a change is indeed so patent, that it is really matter for wonder that the attachment to the established order of things is still so strong that Sir George Campbell's now historically famous language minutes evoked all but universal denunciations from Bengalis.

Bengali, in common with the other Indian vernaculars, derived from Sanskrit, has borrowed most freely from the latter, under

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\* Those who think that the book-Bengali grammar is the grammar of a once-current form of speech. in writing forget that this book-Ben-



~~influence of Sanskrit to those which have caused errors to be so~~  
largely drawn upon by Persians and Turks, and Latin and Greek by the nations of Western Europe. Sanskrit has been in India the language of literary culture and of religion. The Brahman priesthood has always affected a Sanskrit phraseology. Reverence for Sanskrit as a sacred language, however, will be a factor of continually decreasing importance as time rolls on. The Hindu religion will inevitably break up before the onset of western science, and with the Hindu religion a large part of the reverence inspired by Sanskrit will disappear. It will ever command, however, another kind of reverence. Its absolute importance as a language, and its rich literature, serving particularly as a key to the past history of the Aryan race, will ever make it a valued branch of learning. National feeling, too, will impel towards Sanskrit. In continuing to reverence Sanskrit, however, it is by no means necessary that we should, as at present, hold Bengali, Hindi &c., in contempt. The tendency will certainly be to avail ourselves as largely as possible of the living stores of our vernacular tongue, and not to unreasonably proscribe them as vulgar, because they are in use among all classes of the people. The entire Pandit class in Bengal at one time largely employed, in colloquial speech, numerous Sanskrit words, in lieu of their Bengali equivalents. This is now going out of fashion. The language in which eminent Pandits like Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar and Taranath Tarkavachaspati converse differs in no wise from that of Bengali gentlemen possessing no knowledge of Sanskrit. Among Brahmans of the priestly class alone, does a Sanskrit phraseology yet linger in some measure, and the priests, as before remarked, are a gradually decaying class. The indications are quite clear, therefore, that the purely Sanskrit element in Bengali is destined to be greatly curtailed in future.

The arguments of the advocates of the present system of Sanskrit-borrowing demand an examination in detail. The main arguments are the following:—

1. The dialectic varieties of Bengali are so many, and so conflicting, that without Sanskrit there would be no common standard of purity, no bond of union.

This argument, unfortunately, proves too much. It proves that without the purely Sanskrit element in Bengali there would be no common language for Bengal. If this be the fact, then Bengal by all means should have several written languages instead of one. Convenience—human happiness—must be the plea for cultivating the Bengali language at all. If, by ceasing to borrow from Sanskrit words of the commonest kind, we are to dissolve the linguistic unity of the people of Bengal, by all means let such factitious unity be dissolved at once. Popular education would spread



better, and so human happiness would be better promoted, if the different sections of Bengal set up each its own dialect as the language of writing. The fact, however, is that there is a general grammatical correspondence among the different dialects of Bengal, and the vocables in common use too, are in general the same all over the country. The language of the Maldah, Dacca and Barisal Districts are quite intelligible to people in Calcutta, as the present writer can say from his own experience. Besides, the people of Bengal generally now look upon the metropolis and the districts lying along the Bhagirathi as the parts where Bengali is spoken in its greatest purity.

In the development of literary languages political capitals have in the past exercised but too much influence. Provincialisms have not been allowed fair play. They have but too frequently been kept out of the literary language, simply because they have been provincialisms. A better course than this would be to absorb into the cultivated dialect all that is of value in the several kindred dialects. Such absorption would be more real enrichment of a language than thoughtless borrowing under the bias of learning. If this principle were admitted and acted upon, provincial peculiarities would, generally speaking, have a chance of being incorporated into the literary language, in proportion to the mental activity of the people who speak such dialects. Local centres of culture may thus have their due share of influence on the literary language of a country.

To turn again to Bengal. Supposing even that the Calcutta dialect were to thoroughly over-ride all provincial dialects, there would be much less human unhappiness than under the present régime. On this supposition, the people within a certain radius of Calcutta, at any rate, would not have to learn new names for familiar things; and the people of the rest of Bengal would have to learn far fewer words than if Sanskrit were to be drawn upon, as now, without stint or limit. There would be nothing like the trouble now entailed on *all* Bengalis who learn to read.

If falling back upon the past be the best means of finding a common ground for all, the remoter this past the better. A revival of Sanskrit, grammar and all, would secure unity all over Aryan India, and not over Bengal alone. Why not seek to make a revived Sanskrit the language of the educated throughout Aryan India, and thus secure a united Indian nationality? No one has been venturesome enough to propose such a thing. Besides, the immeasurable difficulty that would attend such a revival of Sanskrit, a replacing of the handier vernaculars by the cumbrous parent tongue would be decidedly a step backwards. A replacement of the comparatively handier Bengali words by their Sanskrit representatives would likewise be a step backwards, at the same time



that it would demand a meaningless waste of brain-power from all who learn to read.

2. Another argument urged by the advocates of a Sanskritised Bengali style is, that such borrowing has been quite spontaneous, and that this spontaneity must be taken as a proof that the course of development followed by the language could not, and should not change. To this, the answer would be that all that happens in the universe is in consequence of the operation of natural forces, and that things will change, as they have changed ere this, when other forces prevail over those that brought them into being. If Sanskrit-borrowing has been natural, the revulsion of feeling that such borrowing produces in the present writer and others among his countrymen is also natural, and the question can only be, which of the two opposing forces is likely to prove stronger in the end. This question has already been touched upon.

3. It has been urged again and again that Bengali, being a direct descendant of Sanskrit, has every right to borrow from the parent tongue, and that Sanskrit vocables more readily coalesce with the current vernacular tongue than do words from any other source.

As regards the first part of this assertion, it does not at all touch the position taken up by the present writer. He does not denounce all borrowing. He further holds that in most cases Sanskrit should be the best source to borrow from, and his reasons will be given hereafter. It is the *extent* of such borrowing that forms the main point at issue between him and the advocates of the present régime. As stated already, he holds that borrowing should be limited by necessity.

As regards ready coalescence, people's notions about this have much to do with their own acquired mental associations. In the colloquial tongue, we find that English, Persian and Arabic vocables very readily unite with home-grown expressions, and one would think that what happens in the spoken ought to happen in the written language as well. Men's notions of written style are, however, derived from books, and as Bengali books, as a rule, eschew non-Sanskrit words, no wonder that the dogma should spring up that non-Sanskrit words will not readily coalesce with native Bengali. The best refutation of the dogma is the *fact* that English, Persian and Arabic words do mingle very kindly with the current phraseology. The question, in what respects it would be preferable to borrow from Sanskrit rather than from any other source, will be discussed hereafter.

The discussion carried on by the press, when the world of Bengal was thrown into a ferment by Sir George Campbell's Bengali and Urdu minutes, betrayed in some instances a curious confusion that the writers made between words of Sanskrit derivation, and



words bodily transferred from Sanskrit. To the former class of words there can of course be no possible objection, the latter are open to many, and, as they appear to the present writer, insuperable objections.

4. It has been maintained again that as book Bengali is intelligible to all Bengalis with the aid of a dictionary only, the question of the difference between book and spoken Bengali, is quite an immaterial one. *Intelligible with the aid of a dictionary only*; this involves most momentous issues. Every book in English would be similarly intelligible, with the aid of a dictionary, if for all the principal English words in the book German equivalents were substituted. The sort of burden that the present practice of substituting Sanskrit equivalents for even the commonest Bengali words imposes on all who learn to read, has already been fully described, and need not therefore be here dwelt upon.

5. Lastly, it has been maintained that, whatever be the character of written Bengali at present, the State should not by any means interfere with its development. Languages grow spontaneously, and it does not rest with Cæsar, however absolute the power with which he is armed, to mould or modify it.

Fully admitting that language is an organic growth, and therefore not to be coerced into any shape at the *fiat* of authority, it may quite consistently be maintained that the present is a case which calls for State action. The *laissez faire* argument would have weight, if Government never interfered in the matter at all. It has however interfered in disseminating a knowledge of book Bengali by the establishment of schools and the institution of competitive tests, by the award of scholarships and so forth. Things have *not* been allowed to work themselves out spontaneously. Interference is necessary, at least, as a consequence of past interference still continued. Government again is not prepared to withdraw from the work of popular education; and the interests of millions are involved in the question whether the medium of popular instruction is to be the real vernacular of the country, or the artificialised language in which books are at present generally written. The dumb millions cannot judge, or speak for themselves. If they could, they would with ~~one voice denounce the pedantic jargon that now presses so heavily on them as a dead weight.~~ Governments are most bound to look to the interests of those who cannot take care of their own interests. In a country, again, in the situation of India, the guidance of Government would, in several cases, be on the whole preferable to that of the 'natural leaders of society.' It is only because such lead has failed that the English are in the country at all. If, in respect of all that concerns the preservation of society and its advancement, English guidance has



done for the natives of this country what they could never have done for themselves,\* the presumption ought to be that, in the matter of language too, English guidance would be beneficial.

It must not be understood that in maintaining it to be the duty of Government to interfere in the matter under discussion, the present writer means any such thing that the Government should interdict the publication of any books in the present book language. The great mass of Bengali readers relish Sanskritised Bengali. The State should not curtail the happiness of such people by so unwarrantable an act of tyranny as putting their literary language under a ban. It is clearly the duty of the State, however, to take effective measures for the dissemination of useful knowledge among the people through the real vernacular of the people; and by the real vernacular is meant here the language in which the upper and middle classes of the Bengali community converse, and which the language of the lower orders too constantly tends to approach.

To recognise this as the exclusive language of books intended for *primary instruction* would certainly not be to patronise a newly created language. It would amount only to an interdiction of any unnecessary Sanskrit infusion into the language of books intended to convey elementary knowledge. This, in the interest of the masses, the State is bound to do; and for the rest the struggle between the two styles may be left to be fought out between themselves. Of the ultimate issue of such a struggle there can be no manner of doubt. If the fitter is to survive, then the cumbrous learned jargon can have no chance in the long run against the far more economical language that is now the current speech of Bengal.

The State may, further, do one thing more. It may take steps for making the European officers employed in Bengal thoroughly familiar with the current grammar and the current vocabulary of the Bengali tongue. As officers of Government, their utility would be greatly enhanced if they understood the language in which the people actually converse with one another.

A few words as to the way in which Sanskrit in the present writer's opinion can be legitimately drawn upon to enrich Bengali may not here be out of place. The introduction of western civilisation, and the spread of education has necessitated the addition of new words to the current stock of Bengali words. Should these words be adoptions or inventions from the Sanskrit or adoptions from English? From the utilitarian, non-sentimental point of view, the fact that the latter course would inevitably stamp a

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\* It is not meant that English inseparable from foreign rule, however rule is without any drawbacks whatever. Certain drawbacks must be good it may be."



mongrel character on the language can have no weight. If there is real gain in borrowing from English, no purist feeling should be allowed to stand in the way. But the fact is that importations from English are liable to even graver objections than indiscriminate borrowing from Sanskrit. English words imported would be immensely more difficult for the people to learn than even lengthy Sanskrit compounds invented on the occasion. If the principle of borrowing from English were to be fully accepted there could be no stopping at words like *oxygen*, for which there are no ready-made Sanskrit equivalents; but English equivalents of already-existing Sanskrit words would likewise be introduced into Bengali. This would cause much inconvenience and frightful confusion. A scientific or philosophical nomenclature framed out of Sanskrit can, as before observed, be mastered far more easily than the corresponding English nomenclature. Borrowing from English, therefore, would be an obstacle in the way of a spread of knowledge. An illustration may make my position better understood. The Bengali boy, who knows *kará* (to do) and the Hindustani boy who knows *karná*, can far more easily learn the Sanskrit word *kriyá* than the English word *verb*, to understand the real meaning of which he must further go to the Latin *verbum*. *Kar* and *Kriyá* have so much in common as respects sound that there is much greater economy of mental effort in learning *kriyá* than in learning *verb*. Take again such words as *ganit* (mathematics) *patiganit* (arithmetic), &c.; their derivation from the same root as the Bengali *ganá* and Hindi *ginná* would greatly help the memory. Some existing Sanskrit terms are again absolutely better than the corresponding ones in English. The Sanskrit *sarvanáma* is a more appropriate term, as Professor \* Whitney remarks, than the English term *pronoun*; and Professor Max Müller † says of the grammatical terminology of the Bráhmans generally, that it is 'in some respects more perfect than that of Alexandria and Rome.'

The existence of different scientific and philosophical nomenclatures would again help the advancement of thought. As observed by Dr. Mansel ‡, the possession by Germany of a philosophical nomenclature different from that of the English and of the Latin family of nations has been a help to accurate thought. When India comes to take her place among the civilised community of nations, and contributes her share to the progress of human thought, her possession of independent scientific and philosophical nomenclatures would be a no insignificant force among those that urge forward humanity in the career of advancement.

While scientific and philosophical terms would seem to be best

\* *Language and the study of Language*, First Series, p. 104.  
*guage*, 3rd Edition, p. 258.

† *Lectures on the Science of Lan-*

*guage*, First Series, p. 104.  
 ‡ *Prolegomena Logica*, Oxford Edition, 1851, p. 37.



drawn from Sanskrit, a wide door should be left open for the introduction into writing of foreign words, English or other, that under the pressure of necessity force their way into the current speech. It would be unreasonable purism to exclude from books such handy, naturalised words as map, slate (silet), pencil (pënsil), and to seek to supply their place by new-coined Sanskrit equivalents.

In the case of newly introduced material objects of common use, the direct adoption of foreign words in the oral language would be the natural course, and the written language can here do no better than follow the oral. The adoption of unusual foreign words where accurate native or even Sanskrit equivalents cannot be found would again be sometimes necessary. Visvavidyalaya (Bengali pronunciation *bissobiddēlāe*) answers very inadequately to University, in its present acceptation. A downright adoption in writing of *University* would be better than finding a substitute. In inventing words again out of Sanskrit elements, it ought to be further borne in mind that the compounds formed should be handy ones, fit to be used colloquially. This has in many instances been lost sight of, and the tendency has been but too strong towards compounds, often lengthy, formed out of unfamiliar materials.

An enforcement of the correct pronunciation of Sanskrit in our Schools and Colleges, very desirable on other grounds, would act as a powerful check upon borrowing from Sanskrit. In enforcing correct Sanskrit pronunciation, Government would but complete the work it initiated by introducing into Bengal the Devanagari character. Sanskrit books are now read in Bengal in the Devanagari character, and the incorrect pronunciation, of Sanskrit that is allowed in all the Bengal schools and Colleges, the Sanskrit College itself included, is an evil that calls for remedy. The State *has* already innovated by introducing the Devanagari character. An enforcement of the correct Sanskrit pronunciation cannot, therefore, be objected to.

A word here about the large mass of Sanskrit words that popular poetry has already appropriated seem to be necessary. Such words have a right to be employed, where required, in poetry and impassioned prose; but in ordinary prose composition they should be held inadmissible, for they form no part of the *living tissue* of the language. লড়াই and যুদ্ধ are *living* words, while রণ, সমর and সংগ্রাম are *antique* and *poetical*.

In cultivating Bengali and the other Aryan vernaculars of India, the romance languages of Europe should be our guide. There can be no reason why our vernaculars should lean more upon Sanskrit than French, Italian, and Spanish, do upon Latin.

SYAMACHARAN GANGULI.



**POETRY :—SONNETS FROM THE FRENCH OF  
LE COMTE F. DE GRAMONT.**

*Translated by Miss Toru Dutt.*

**1.—ISOLATION.**

Fall, fall, O snow, from thy thick heavy cloud  
In silent showers ; encumber vales, and plains,  
And heights, with thy white plumes, till nought remains,  
Nor herb, nor tree, without its silver shroud.  
Safe in that shelter from the north-winds loud,  
When Spring, returning, their rude breath restrains,  
More prompt the earth shall smile, in genial rains,  
And leaves start forth in all their splendour proud.  
Blest isolation from the world, I see  
Herein thy emblem ; may thy winding-sheet  
Guard my soul likewise till its latest hour,  
That so through all its journey, it may be  
Patient, until God's love with generous heat  
In heaven unfolds the blossom into flower.

**2.—FREEDOM.**

By iron bars the lion proud hemmed round,  
The sovereign lion with the terrible eyes,  
Vanquished, yet still invincible, defies  
Not by vain efforts but a calm profound.  
Idle, he sits, as wont, upon the ground,  
His claws drawn in their sheath, and none descries  
In his unchanging front the rage that lies  
Deep in his bosom without sign or sound.  
'Tis sometimes only, when he snuffs the storm  
Sweeping afar, he stirs and lifts his form,  
Savage, magnificent. Then to hear his roar  
The gaolers tremble, —but he drops anew ;  
Not long has he to pine on dungeon-floor ;  
He chokes for freedom : death must soon ensue.

**3.—OBEDIENCE.**

In thy strong teeth bite hard thy bit of steel,  
Curve on thy chest thy nostrils belching fire,  
Hold in thy strength, and check thy generous ire,  
War-horse impatient in thy battle-zeal.



Mid the fierce onset where the standards reel,  
And bright swords flash, and cannons thunder dire,  
Fain wouldst thou fly, and there with joy expire,  
Proud in thy blood thy loyalty to seal.  
But where's the signal? Wait. Thy foam devour,  
Smoothen thy mane, and dull thine eye's red flush,  
With pricked-up ears attent until the hour,  
True to thy Rider's will. So when it rings,  
That glorious hour, thou shalt have leave to rush  
Through space entire, not on thy feet but wings.

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#### 4.—THE PRESENT AGE.

Vile Sloth and greedy Self-love hunt as game  
Each noble Virtue honored in the past,  
Man grovels in a cess-pool dim and vast  
And hides not now but blazons out his shame.  
So well proscribed is the celestial flame  
That glory's antique hymn is hushed at last,  
And Bard and Prophet with the idiots classed  
Raise mockful laughter more than serious blame.  
'Shall we on laurels feed or dress in flowers?  
'Go, foolish poet, in thy garret dream!  
So speak the crowds insatiate in all hours  
For filthy gold. Well! Let them thus blaspheme.  
Care not for them, but mustering thy powers  
O Soul, well-born, pull hard against the stream.

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#### 5.—POESY.

Thou canst not die, my foolish fears are vain,  
O Muse! O Poesy! My love for aye!  
Thou livest and shalt live. The sun, the day,  
Are less than thee, the life of hill and plain!  
Long as the Spirit makes the heart its fane,  
And homewards, Godwards, lifts our eyes, thy ray  
Shall light our path, and thy bewitching lay  
Our exile charm and mitigate our pain.  
And ye, who scorn her art, ye worldly-wise,  
Or who profane it, which is guiltier far,  
Ye may degrade yourselves, and blind your eyes  
And close your ears, but ye can never mar  
Her glory with your boastful blasphemies,  
Nor quench in heaven the lustre of one star.



## 6.—HOMER.

O wild young savage wrapt in Homer's lore  
 Who fliest the talk of our logicians wise,  
 And sports, and rich-decked feasts, and beauty's eyes,  
 What dost thou, night and day, along the shore?  
 I wait. For what?—Grand is that hungry roar  
 Of storm-vexed ocean as it earth defies  
 But grander are these histories.—They are lies,  
 And wasted hours no penance can restore.—  
 I care not. I would see as here I roam,  
 Astarté rise immortal from the foam  
 Whom in my dreams I worship. Hope commands  
 A patient out-look to the sky's dim line,  
 For often have I seen upon these sands,  
 The impress of her conch and foot divine.

## 7.—A CHARACTER OF THE OLDEN TIME.

A valiant heart, simple, correct, austere,  
 Hewn from the solid rock, sincere as gold,  
 Straight as an iron rod ;—a man of old,  
 Whose noble nature never knew a fear.  
 Adulterous interests from his duty clear  
 He chased afar ; his conscience never sold ;  
 Dared dangers terrible and manifold,  
 And when they ended, dropped into the rear.  
 Under the antique flag, how prompt his lance !  
 But not the less his hate of foreign rule,  
 Gentleman, subject of the King of France,  
 Upon the Rhine, in Lyons' noble school,  
 In Vendée, and wherever he had chance,  
 He shed his blood, faithful, and yet no tool.

## 8.—MY STRENGTH IS MADE PERFECT IN WEAKNESS.

Cured, but still weak, like him I sometimes feel  
 That hath the dropsy ; from his burden freed,  
 Of help divine who has continued need,  
 And cannot march but still appears to reel.  
 Happy the blind from birth with holier zeal,  
 The paralytic with more faith, who heed  
 At once the Saviour's words sublime, and speed  
 Clear-eyed and strong, with nothing left to heal.  
 But, though less full, unmeasured and not vain  
 The grace that's given me. May I watch with care,



Daily and nightly on the couch of pain,  
Attentive to the Voice that says,—'Beware !  
What thou hast done, thou yet may'st do again,  
What others do, thou too might'st rashly dare !'

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[We grieve to say that, since the above Sonnets were prepared for publication in the *Calcutta Review*, their gentle and accomplished author has passed away to her rest. Miss Toru Dutt's girlhood—she was scarcely more than twenty when she died—was one of the richest promise, as those of our readers who have followed her occasional contributions to this Review will fully recognise ; and an earlier collection of her poems, entitled *A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields*, was of such marked excellence as to attract a great deal of attention and praise both here and in England. Of Indian birth—a daughter of Babu Govin Chunder Dutt, a well-known and respected citizen of Calcutta—Miss Dutt was educated almost entirely in Europe. She wrote English with all the delicacy and good-taste of a highly cultivated Englishwoman ; and many of her short poems displayed a tender, half-sad eloquence and a depth of religious feeling, illuminated by a pure and lofty imagination, which promised to obtain for her an honored place amongst English poets of the present day. Such was the hope of the young life which has just been cut off at its very opening. The flower has been plucked in the bud : but to those who sorrow for its untimely fate, the words which close the first Sonnet given above—words which breathe "a sure and certain hope"—may well afford consolation :—

God's love, with generous heat,  
In heaven unfolds the blossom into flower.

Editor, *Calcutta Review*.]



I We grieve to say that, since the above Sonnets were prepared for publication in the Calcutta Review, their gentle and abundant author has passed away to her rest. Miss Tom Thurl's gift—she was scarcely more than twenty when she died—was one of the richest promises, as those of our readers who have followed her occasional contributions to this Review will fully recognise; and an earlier collection of her poems, entitled *A Garland in France*, was of such marked excellence as to attract a great deal of attention and praise both here and in England. Of Indian birth—a daughter of Bahu Govin Chunder Dutt, a well-known and respected citizen of Calcutta—Miss Dutt was educated almost entirely in Europe. She wrote English with all the delicacy and good-taste of a highly cultivated English woman; and many of her short poems displayed a tender, delicate elegance and a depth of religious feeling, illuminated by a pure and lofty imagination, which promised to obtain for an honored place amongst English poets of the present age. Such was the hope of the young life which has just been snatched in the flower of its maturity. The words which the first Sonnet given above—words which declare "a sure and certain hope"—may well afford consolation—



## CRITICAL NOTICES.

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### 1.—VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

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*Válmíki and his Times ; or, A View of the State of Society, Religion, Polity, Commerce &c. of Válmíki's Times, gleaned from the Epic of Ramayan.* By Prafulla Chandra Banerji, Calcutta. Printed at the Girisha-Vidyaratna Press, 24 Bye lane, Upper Circular Road, October 1876.

THIS book is neither a novel, nor a drama, nor yet a stale story of love delivered in the sing-song style of noxious rhymsters. It is one of a class of books of which not half a dozen can be yet found in the Bengali language. And of the three or four works of this kind which we have hitherto come across, this one by Babu Prafulla Chandra, and the *Aitihasika-Rahasya* by Babu Ram Dass Sen, are the only two which deserve to be mentioned with respect and presented to Indian and European readers as fair specimens of the new and important species of literature called forth in Bengal by a partial revival of the true Aryan spirit in the educated Hindu mind, and the consequent growth of a vehement desire to understand ancient India. Both these works are of a purely antiquarian character, having for their object the determination of important points connected with the ancient civilisation of the Hindus—their religion, their philosophy, their social and political institutions. Attempts of this kind, it need hardly be said, are worthy of all praise, and become matters of special interest and importance when they are made, not by foreign scholars and philologists, but by the descendants of the very men who, though great and good, look like the monstrous beings that figure in fable and fiction, and whom all the world desires to see invested with the colors of actual human flesh and blood. Attempts of this kind—attempts to recover the actual living and moving spirits of a distant and almost shadowy world—are everywhere difficult and dangerous ; and particularly so in India, which, though it has lived the longest of national lives, is poorer than the poorest of nationalities in the quantity and quality of authentic records of history. It is true that the nation which writes much—philosophy, fable or fiction—must write something about themselves and their actual belongings. But to extract that something becomes all the more difficult when the



quantity it writes is vast and voluminous as the ancient literature of the Hindus. It is also well known that the history which is gleaned from a vast body of speculative or imaginative literature is itself speculative in character and peculiarly liable to be colored by the mental bias and temperament of each individual inquirer. To take one instance. Babu Prafulla Chandra has said a good deal to prove the fallacy of the opinion entertained by men like Professor Benfey that Sanskrit had ceased to be a spoken language when the *Ramayana* of Válmiki was written. We agree with our author in thinking that the mere fact of a book being written in a pompous, stilted or cumbrous style is no proof that it is written in a language which has ceased to be spoken. For, judged by this test, the writings of men like Dr. Johnson and Jeremy Bentham would go far to show that the English language has lost all vitality and ceased to be the spoken language of the English people. But, on the other hand, Babu Prafulla's view, though it is supported by arguments which must commend themselves to sensible men, does not seem to us, after all, materially different from that of Professor Benfey. The Babu has quoted a passage from the *Ramayana*, which undoubtedly proves that the language in which Hanumán delivered his diplomatic message from Sugriva to Rám was not a dead or antiquated vehicle of speech. But there are words in this passage which seems to us to import most clearly that, at the time of Válmiki, the Sanskrit language, though living, was far from possessing the great social value attaching to all languages of every-day life. Rám is represented as saying—'this person has studied grammar many a time. He has uttered so many words; and yet not one vulgar word has escaped his lips.' So Sanskrit required a long and laborious study before it could be spoken; and so great was the difficulty of speaking it that a master of the language, when required to speak long, could make no commoner mistake than that of mixing up vulgar or colloquial words with words drawn from the sacred language. Such a language can only have been studied and spoken by men whose sole occupation was literature, or by men who, like the sons of kings and nobles, had both time and means at their command. To the great mass of people, such a language must have been inaccessible. And in the eye of History, the language which is understood and spoken by the many is of infinitely greater importance than the language which is spoken by the learned few. The days when learning was clothed in the language of Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas were the days of popular ignorance and superstition; the day on which Tyndale and Coverdale translated the Bible into common English was the dawn of intellectual progress and moral enlightenment. To look at the matter from another point of



view. In his last chapter, Babu Prafulla Chandra has discussed with considerable ability the position of the different castes in ancient India and attempted to give us something like a historical account of an important movement which the Kshatriya class seem to have originated and kept up for a great length of time for the purpose of curbing the despotic power of the sacerdotal caste. The author has divided this struggle into certain stages, and seems to think that, when it was in its first and earliest stage, the Bráhmanical class did not possess that austere and self-sacrificing character which, by inspiring fear and reverence in the minds of the uninstructed at a later stage of the struggle, greatly weakened the ranks of the enemy and reduced very largely the chances of victory on the side of the secular castes. We say that this division of the great civic struggle into successive stages characterised by well-marked differences in Bráhmanical thought and practice, is at the best a bare conjecture, which cannot give full satisfaction to the exact student of History, aware of the hopeless character of Indian chronology and of the Sanskrit method of describing men and events without the slightest reference to their order and succession in point of time. And this is a consideration which leads us to question the soundness of the view of Indian history taken by our author in the dedicatory portion of his work, namely, that all the materials of history exist in abundance in the ancient literature of the Hindus. But to return to our main line of argument. Taking Babu Prafulla Chandra's theory of successive well-marked stages to be substantially correct, we do not think that it at all explains the exact nature and magnitude of the old struggle for power carried on between the sacerdotal and the military castes. Most of the causes assigned by him for the failure of the Kshatriya movement came into operation at the later stages of the conflict, and cannot therefore account for its collapse at the first and earliest stage. The student of history cannot fail to observe that the immediate cause of this movement was the intolerable tyranny of the Bráhmanical class—a tyranny, which spared nobody, Kshatriya, Vaisya or Sudra; and that the revolt against this sacerdotal tyranny originated with the class of men who possessed the whole temporal power—the most important element of success in domestic feuds and international wars. And as the sympathy of the two lowest castes—Vaisyas and Sudras—must have been with the great political and military caste, the student of history finds it difficult to understand how the Bráhmanical class—so highly over-matched in number and strength—came out victoriously from the conflict. To him, therefore, the most plausible explanation of the movement would seem to be this. The power of the Bráhmanical class was essentially spiritual in character; and for that power to have been exercised tyrannically



it was necessary not only that it should have been regarded with veneration and awe by those who did not possess it, but that the popular mind should have been more mindful about spiritual than about temporal interests. It might be said with reference to the first of these two conditions that, wherever priests have exercised despotism, they have done so in the name of superhuman spiritual power. And it is therefore most in accordance with the teaching of universal history to suppose that the clerico-military feud in India—admittedly the result of intolerable spiritual tyranny—arose after and not before the assumption of an austere and awe-inspiring scheme of life by the Aryan priesthood. As regards the second condition, it need hardly be said that the Hindu is of an essentially religious turn of mind, caring more about the next world than about this and ready to sacrifice much on earth for a little in heaven. He believes happiness and misery to be the necessary consequences of his own individual acts—a frame of mind which leads to resignation of the fullest and most impassive kind and prevents man from revolting against tyranny by whomsoever exercised. And he is best fitted to be influenced by the Vedantic doctrine of *māyā*—by the doctrine, that is, of the utter unreality and worthlessness of earthly life and earthly interests,—a fact, which enables us to understand far more clearly and satisfactorily than the elaborate theory of Babu Prafulla Chandra the rapid crystallisation and lengthened duration of Indian caste. Such a man must have proved a most supple and docile recipient of priestly advice and instruction. And it is but fair to conclude that the revolt against Bráhmanical despotism can have excited very little interest in the minds of men of the servile and agricultural classes and found but a very small number of supporters even among the members of the military caste. Two points now demand our attention. In the first place, priestly advice and instruction cannot have been communicated in the learned language of the Shastras. The ignorant and unlettered mass must have been taught through the medium of their every-day vocabulary—a consideration, which makes it perfectly clear that it was not the cumbrous language of Bráhmanical authorship but the plain dialect of the fireside and the market-place which was the real living language of ancient India. In the second place, our own version of the Bráhman-Kshatrya feud, based as it is in some measure upon conjecture and speculation, might not, like the version of Babu Prafulla Chandra himself, find full or ready acceptance with others. And if it fails to do so, our regret would be all the greater that Sanskrit writers kept no authentic memorials of their country's history. For speculation, however sound it may be, can never supply the place of actual history; the difference between the one and the other being something like the difference between seeing a battle from a



neighbouring height and imagining what it must be like from the dull roar of distant artillery.

We will give another instance. Babu Prafulla Chandra seems to think that the structure of ancient Indian society resembled the structure of European society during the feudal régime. And in coming to this conclusion, the author has been chiefly influenced by the resemblance between the Aryan conquests in India and the Germanic conquests in the last days of the Roman Empire; between tributary chiefs and princes in India and European holders of fiefs rendering military service to their lords paramount; between the governors of villages and towns in ancient India and feudal barons exercising territorial jurisdiction within their respective fiefs; and so on. We think, however, that these resemblances are more apparent than real. We doubt whether the tributary princes of ancient India occupied the same status as the Germanic soldiers who were rewarded with territorial possessions obtained from vanquished enemies. Mere payment of tribute means nothing. Early conquests are everywhere found to have been followed by the exaction of tribute; but it cannot be asserted that wherever man conquered, there the feudal system sprang up. The truest resemblance is to be sought, not in the payment of fines and tributes, but in the internal organisation of society—not in the relation between feudal lords and feudal kings, but in the relation between feudal lords and the people over whom they exercised territorial authority. The principle of suzerainty, though most important in connection with European feudalism, does not however prove much one way or the other. French feudalism, we know, was characterised in numerous instances by complete baronial independence and absolute defiance of the kingly power. But it was not on that account anything different from the institution bearing that name. On the other hand, the Government of India claims suzerainty over Indian chiefs and princes. But nothing is more certain than that the relation between the former and the latter is not of a feudal character. The Aryan Kings of India might have had tributary chiefs beneath them. But if these chiefs themselves did not exercise feudal power over their subjects—if, that is, the constitution of their own States was not of a feudal character, it would be a grave philosophical error to suppose that the feudal polity existed in ancient India. And where, we ask, is the proof that ancient Indian society possessed a feudal structure? The existence of lords of towns and villages might indeed delude one into the belief that there was something like feudalism in ancient India. But these lords of towns and villages appear to have been essentially different in status from the feudal barons of Europe. The places over which they exercised authority were not their own possessions, and the



condition of the people over whom they ruled was determined and regulated not by their own will and caprice but by the laws and ordinances of the King. Unlike the feudal barons of Europe, they were not the masters of the people whom they governed; and the relation of lord and vassal—the most essential element in the feudal polity—did not subsist between them. For Manu says that, the towns and villages over which they ruled were not their own domains and that they received separate properties in lieu of the services they performed. Indeed, verses 114 to 122, Chapter VII., of the Institutes of Manu, make it perfectly clear that these lords of towns and villages were not territorial lords like the feudal barons of Europe, but plain administrative officers remunerated by the Kings by separate assignments of immovable property. And to liken such lords to the landed aristocracy of feudal Europe would be to commit the very grave and mischievous error of confounding a purely administrative system with what was most truly a system of social life. But errors like this cannot be prevented when history has to be reasoned out.

It is extremely gratifying to us to observe that Babu Prafulla Chandra's book is pervaded throughout by a deep tone of patriotism. The labour of investigating ancient Indian history must be naturally so great that none but sympathetic inquirers can be expected to achieve anything valuable and useful in this line of work. Babu Prafulla's book is the result of long and untiring study, of minute and extensive research, of patient industry and arduous labour. And we should be inclined to doubt whether so many difficult conditions could have been complied with if the author had not brought to this work a highly patriotic mind, capable of enthusiastic devotion. But much as we value our author's patriotic feeling, we wish he had indulged it less freely and fervently in a work which, to be really valuable, must be the result of calm and dispassionate inquiry. In the recapitulatory portion of the first book, Babu Prafulla Chandra has drawn a picture of Aryan life in ancient India which seems to be highly over-coloured, and unwarranted by the passages he has quoted from the *Ramayana* in support of his view. Again, in speaking of the Hindu system of taxation, the author says that, Hindu Society in the time of Válmíki cannot have attained so much prosperity as to have been able to bear without pain or inconvenience taxes amounting to one-sixth of their property. And yet, almost in the very next sentence, he adds—'be that as it may, India, in spite of this, lived a delightful life'! We are sorry for all this, because we value Babu Prafulla's book so highly.

There are many small inaccuracies in this work, which we have neither time nor space to point out. The style of the book is not very elegant or perspicuous, and is in many places decidedly



un-Bengali. We trust Babu Prafulla Chandra will look to this in the second volume of his work, whose early appearance is earnestly wished for and eagerly expected by us.

*The Bharati.* A Monthly Review. Edited by Dijendra Náth Thákur. Vol. I., Nos. 1 and 2, Calcutta: Printed by Kalidás Chakravarti at the Adi Bráhma Samáj Press. 1284 B. S.

THIS is a new monthly like the *Banga Darsana*. The editor, Babu Dijendra Náth Thákur, whose *Swapna-prayana* was recently reviewed by us, is an accomplished scholar, an enthusiastic votary of learning, and a thoughtful and witty writer. Anything coming from the hands of such a man is sure to be useful and respectable. And the two numbers of the journal, lying before us, are not unworthy of the learned editor. There is in them considerable variety of interesting matter. Of the essay on '*tatwa jnyan*' we shall say nothing now, because it is not finished. The article on 'Bengali literature' is a piece of fervid eloquence from beginning to end. The position taken up by the writer of this paper is, we think, unassailable; and has been maintained with great vigour and ability. The two articles on Mr. Buckle's theory of civilisation are very sensibly written, and fully establish the view that civilisation means both intellectual and moral progress. The paper on 'Death by lightning' possesses deep practical interest, its object being to show that death caused by lightning is the least painful of deaths, and that, in the interests of public morality, criminals sentenced to undergo capital punishment ought to be spared the pains and the horrors of the gallows and killed by the application of electrical force in some form or other. The article entitled '*Karua Kanovi*'—being a description of marriage customs among a low Hindu tribe bearing that name in Gujarát—is extremely interesting and possesses great ethnographic value. We trust articles of this kind will frequently appear in the *Bharati*. Anything which indicates the growth of an active spirit of observation and inquiry in the dreamy and listless mind of the Hindu, is regarded by us with keen interest and lively hopes of a better future. There are two pieces of poetry in the two numbers under notice, and both of them are exquisitely charming and musical. The articles on the late Michael M. S. Datta's epic of *Meghnada-badha* have given rise to considerable discussion in the vernacular press. We think that the view taken by the writer of these articles is correct. Mr. Datta's *Ravana* is a failure. And what else could it be? Mr. Datta himself wrote to one of his friends—'I despise Ram and his rabble, but the idea of *Ravana* elevates and kindles my imagination. He was a grand fellow.' This means that the poet was a lover of physic-



al power—not of moral beauty. He could perceive grandeur in the forcible abduction of a chaste and virtuous princess, in plunder, rapine, and vaulting ambition, but not in that filial love and obedience which could exchange an empire for a wilderness. Milton's 'Satan' is a success, not because Milton loved Satan but because he loved to hate him. The poet of *Paradise Lost* did not consider Satan 'a grand fellow.' Mr. Datta's Satan is a failure, because Mr. Datta loved not to hate him. He has invested 'Ravana' with feminine frailty, with the view of exciting in the reader's mind commiseration for a doomed scourge and oppressor of the human race. To excite sympathy with wickedness and vice is not the function of true poetry; nor is that man a true poet who finds grandeur in vice and wickedness. Wickedness is an 'obdurate' and a 'steadfast' thing. To make it weep like a woman is to confess ignorance of its very nature. The remaining articles, with the exception of the introduction, which is indeed very sweet, are not to our liking, and ought to have been excluded.

The style of the *Bharati* is extremely good and graceful. It is completely free from faults of imitation and mannerism.

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*Prize Essays on the Ayurvedik system of preserving health.*  
Published by the Honorary Secretary to the Barabazar Family Literary Club, Calcutta. Printed by B. P. M., at B. P. M's. Press, 1283, B. S.

THE Barabazar Family Literary Club had been hitherto known to us as a simple literary society, where people of all races meet as it were on a social platform, to exchange brotherly feelings and instruct each other by the delivery of lectures on literary and scientific subjects. The publication of the pamphlet named above seems to show that the Club has higher and more important objects in view. We learn from the introduction that the Society offered certain sums of money to those who might be able to write good essays, from the Hindu point of view, on the subject of health. This was a most laudable step; for there is much in the Indian system of medicine which deserves to be known and carefully preserved, but which stands the risk of being forgotten and lost in the neglect and apathy met with in these days by the professors of the indigenous system, from a public unduly partial to foreign modes of medical treatment. The encouragement given by the Family Literary Club to the native *Kavirâjes* is of a substantial character, and no other encouragement can have much effect upon men with whom medicine is a profession. We earnestly hope and trust that the plan adopted by the Club will be gradually enlarged; for it is only by so doing that it can achieve a great, good, and patriotic work.



The pamphlet consists of the whole of the essay which carried away the first prize, and short abstracts of five other Essays which were considered inferior in merit. The rules of health explained in these essays really seem to be very sound and are all the more valuable because they have special reference to the conditions of Indian life. But we would leave the reader to study them well and carefully, and content ourselves with presenting to him the following translation of a passage from the first essay by Kaviraj Kailás Chandra Sen, of Faridpur :—

“The child that is born of a boy below the twenty-fifth year, and of a girl of the immature age of sixteen is generally a still-born child. Even if it is born alive, it does not live long ; and even if it lives long, its body and organs of sense can never acquire sufficient strength. Procreation of children being the principal object of marriage, the general aim ought to be to ensure to these children health and long life.”

This is a most remarkable opinion to come from an orthodox Hindu ; and we wish it were more generally entertained in Hindu Society. One way of giving it greater force and currency would be to raise the native *Kaviraj* to a respectable and influential position. And the action taken by the Family Literary Club—if followed more largely—is sure to raise the neglected practiser of the healing art in the estimation of both the educated and the uneducated.

The prizes in this instance were given by Babu Prasád Dás Mallik, the well-known amiable Secretary of the Literary Club. Babu Prasád Dás is certainly doing excellent service to his country.

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*Ekádhika Sahasra Rajani.* Illustrated. Parts I. and II. Translated by Satya Charan Gupta, and published by Durga Charan Gupta. The Gupta Press, 24 Mír Jaffer's Lane, Calcutta.

THE ‘Thousand and One Nights’ is one of the most valuable and interesting books of fiction written by man. Like the Fables of Æsop, the Fables of Pilpay, or De Foe’s Robinson Crusoe, it has become the property of the whole human race. As a source of innocent amusement, it possesses incalculable value. For it is one of the few books which have largely added to the stock of human happiness in all times and places. It has also great historic importance, being the expression of a stage of mental culture which man passes through everywhere and the most graphic record of the early civilization of a race who have exercised immense influence on human affairs. For all these reasons this new undertaking to translate the ‘Thousand and One Nights’ into



Bengali deserves a warm and grateful recognition. There are indeed two or three other Bengali translations of this invaluable book, but this one promises to be better than them all. The translator's style is clear and agreeable and the value of his work has been greatly enhanced by copious explanatory notes. We only wish that the practice of interspersing the prose narration with verses may be immediately discontinued. The publication is a very cheap one, and will, we trust, receive sufficient support from the Bengali public to enable the enterprising publisher to complete it.

## 2.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

*The Languages and Races of Dardistan.* By Dr. G. W. Leitner, (late on special duty in Kashmir.) With Maps by G. G. Ravenstein, and numerous Illustrations. Quarto. Lahore. Government Central Book Depot 1877.

THE recent appointment of a British agent at Ghilghit, due to the initiative of Lord Northbrook and carried out by Lord Lytton with the concurrence of the Maharaja of Kashmir, introduces Dardistan to the political world. It is exactly eleven years ago that this country, its language and races, were introduced to the world of science by Dr. Leitner. He had been deputed on a mission of linguistic discovery by the Punjab Government at the instance of the Bengal Asiatic Society; and the portion of the results which he was able immediately to submit was described in the letters of thanks conveyed to him from Government by Mr. T. H. Thornton D. C. L. as "far exceeding what the Asiatic Society or Government could reasonably have looked for." Nor was this an overcharged statement; for Part I. alone, contained a comparative vocabulary and Grammar of four languages, committed to writing for the first time, and of whose existence the only previous intimation was given by Vigne in his admirable but ill-arranged "Travels in Kashmir;" and in a note added to General Cunningham's excellent "Ladak." Dr. Leitner's mission would have been fully accomplished had he merely ascertained that there was a distinct dialect of Chilási, and that there could be no possible identification between Chilás and Kailás, the Hindu Olympus. We are so grateful for small mercies, especially if philological, in India that it has taken eleven years of criticism fully to establish the magnitude of Dr. Leitner's discoveries. "What is Dardistan," if not "who is Dardistan," long struggled with the question "where is Dardistan;" and its answer that this designation (a hybrid between the mythological and historical "Darda" and



a Persian termination) whose accuracy and convenience are now generally accepted, meant, in a restricted sense, the districts of Chilás, Ghilghit, Nagyr, Punza, Yasin and Chitrál and in a wider sense the whole of the country between Kabul, Badakhshan and Kashmir, including Kafiristan, that still mysterious region of either fugitive Zoroastrians or descendants of Alexander's Macedonians. We now know, as has been corroborated by Drew, that the Dards, as Buddhists, still extend far into Tibet; whilst the Latin and Greek authorities quoted by Schiern prove their raids on the gold-diggers, miscalled "ants," of Great Tibet. F. Müller and with him Trumpp, thought that the Dard languages were modern Sanscritic idioms, but Max Muller early admitted that they might have their own history of phonetic decay. Dr. Hyde Clark soon showed that the Khajurá, the language of Hunza, that stronghold of robbers, was the remnant of a pre-historic language, though there is also the belief that in it may be found a relic of the language of the Huns. The unfortunate traveller Hayward, who fell a victim to his enterprising spirit, as well as Mr. Drew, who was deputed on behalf of the Maharaja of Kashmir to report on the murder of that emissary of the Geographical Society, confirm the Shiná portion of Dr. Leitner's vocabulary. Mr. R. B. Shaw has lately compared the Dard with the Galchah languages, for the publication of which we are indebted to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Count Liancourt and Mr. F. Pincott, in a book dedicated to Dr. Leitner, take the Dard languages as a new basis for the "laws of Language"; and there can be little doubt that the prize essay so wisely offered by the forthcoming International Congress of orientologists at Florence, on the early vicissitudes of the Aryan race, will stimulate further enquiries regarding people and languages whom the seclusion of ages has kept pure. Still we must claim for the *Calcutta Review* the credit to have first dealt with the Dard languages in an exhaustive manner. In our April number for 1872, Dr. Ernest Trumpp introduces a long and learned treatise on Part I. of Dr. Leitner's work with the regretful observation: "Hitherto this interesting work, the materials of which were collected by Dr. Leitner, under great difficulties, in 1866, has passed nearly unnoticed by professional philologists, but apparently from no other reason than that they did not know how to make use of it." Nothing but complete success can justify a revolution in philology as in Government. Sir G. Campbell, Sir Donald McLeod and Dr. Thornton were the first to understand the importance of the "results." In Part I. the Punjab Government recorded that it threw "very considerable and important light on matters heretofore veiled in great obscurity"; whilst the Philological Society of London, followed by other learned Societies, memorialized the Secretary of State for India, as soon as in 1869



appeared Part II. "a linguistic Geographical and Ethnographical vocabulary and dialogues with notes in three dialects of Shiná," to allow the author to "complete his great literary work" by giving him the necessary leave: "for the Society is of opinion that, while the results of the journey, already published, fully entitle Dr. Leitner to the sympathy and gratitude of philologists, his great undertaking could not be brought to a speedy and satisfactory termination unless he was temporarily relieved of all his official duties, and unless he could utilize the literary material only to be found in Europe." Since then, Part III. has been published. It contains the Legends, Riddles, Proverbs, Fables, Customs, Songs, Religion, Government, and Divisions of the Shiná race; and the history of the encroachments of Kashmir on Dardistan (portions of which recent events permit us somewhat to explain). In publishing this mine of information, the author (1873) remarks that he has been enabled to collect vocabularies and itineraries regarding every portion of the so-called "neutral Zone", and also to add another district, that of Kandiá (a district between Swat and the Indus) to his first Darden researches, but that he is unable to obtain the necessary leave for their elaboration. "Therefore, rather than allow the material of 1866 to perish, I am compelled to publish it almost in the form in which I first committed it to writing." "Some of my notes, which would have recalled observations, had I been able to write them out in 1867, are now meaningless to me." In a Parliamentary Report which acknowledges in considerable detail the value of Dr. Leitner's services to Indian education and the cause of science (Series C—1072 II Part III pages 274 to 289 1874) we find a list of the "remaining unpublished material." The same list is repeated in the book now before us; and we venture to express a warm hope that it may not long remain hidden in the obscurity of manuscript. The following is the list in question, of which we presume that the "rough outline of tour" in the volume before us is No. 1.

1. A brief account of Dr. Leitner's adventures on a tour in 1866 through Zanskar, Ladak, little Tibet, Kashmir, Gilgit, &c.
2. A full account of Mr. Hayward's death (compiled from various non-official sources), and the precise extent and value of his explorations and statements in 1870.
3. The race and language of Kandiá or Kiliá (discovered by Dr. Leitner in 1872). The district lies between Swat and the Indus.
4. Further details regarding the legends, &c., of Chilás and other Shin countries.
5. The "Traveller's Vade Mecum," in the following Shin dialects;—Gilgiti, Guraizi, Chilási, Kandiá or Kiliá. Also in Kashmîri.



6. Various routes to Badakhshan, through the Hindukush, (from Srinagar, Leh, Peshawar, Kabul, and Abbottabad, through Kandia, Chilas, Dareyl, Tangir, Hodur, Dir, Chitral, Kafiristan, Bajaur, Swat, Petsh, Daranur and Lughman, &c., &c.) with the names of the chief places of interest, references to local traditions, &c., &c.

7. A comparative vocabulary and grammar of the languages of the Hindukush languages which have been either discovered or investigated for the first time by Dr. Leitner, including also the Kashmîri, elucidated by him.

8. An account of the countries and inhabitants of Lughman, Daranur, Petsh, Chitral, Bajaur, and the various parts of Kafiristan; with dialogues, songs, &c., in several of the languages.

9. A sketch of a secret trade dialect, and of the *Argots* on the Punjab Frontier.

10. The inscriptions, songs, and literature of Kashmir (text and translation).

The introduction of a country to the world of politics deserves a far more extensive review than we are able to give it in this notice. The material for an exhaustive treatment of the subject, again, is so widely scattered in the transactions of learned Societies, in journals like the "Indian Antiquary," and even in newspapers like the "Pioneer" and the "Indian Public Opinion" during a period of eleven years, as also in such publications as Drew's "Jummoo and Kashmir," that we must "reserve ourselves" for our next number; suffice it generally to indicate that the volume before us, of which only a hundred copies have been printed, contains all the researches of the author regarding Dardistan in a restricted sense, whilst in the valuable maps that have been added to the book, all subsequent information has also been embodied. Indeed, as regards Dardistan in the narrower application of the term, the book which is well bound and got-up, gives every information that can possibly be required by a linguist, a philologist or a traveller. We have, indeed, advanced far beyond the stage when Ghilghit was supposed to be inhabited by cannibals, an illusion which Dr. Leitner's tour dispersed; though he carried his life in his hands when making his way to the Ghilghit fort, besieged in 1866 by all the Dard tribes, and when, undeterred by attempts on his life, he coolly incorporated "threats and terms of abuse" in his descriptive vocabulary. Of course, it is easier to visit these countries now than in 1866, when every step in advance was towards "the unknown." With *cafés chantants* at Tashkand, and infidel amusements at Bokhara, Dr. Schuyler, protected by Russian bayonets, could not "realize" the dangers of the fakir Vambéry's self-imposed mission years before him, and audaciously denied them. We trust that Captain Biddulph, whilst adding to the information of his predeces-



sors, will not underrate the difficulties of their pioneering labours which alone have rendered his own task a possible one. Dr. Leitner refers to some of his troubles and their results as follows:—

Those who know how difficult it is to elicit grammatical forms from savages, or even from the half-educated among civilized or semi-civilized races, will be able to form a conception of the almost insuperable difficulties in my way. It was easy enough to point to objects in order to learn their names, and to find expressions for the simplest bodily wants that could be indicated by gestures; it was more difficult to discover the imperative form in the commands given by my followers, and to trace an affirmative or the present or future indicative in the replies; it required the closest attention to follow the same sound in any discussion that might have ensued, and it was certainly puzzling to both friend and foe, to find me writing down threats or terms of abuse, instead of taking the natural notice of them; but it seemed almost impossible to follow a language more inflectional than Greek, and in which the ideas of proximity or distance, of the gender of the speaker, of causality, habit and potentiality run through the tenses. Often when almost sure of a form have I discovered that the person addressed did not understand my question, or had made use in reply of an idiom or an evasion. However, by asking the same question from several people, by making them ask each other, and by carefully noting their replies, I gradually reached that approximative certainty which alone is attainable in so complicated a matter. When it is considered that I finally was able to put down songs, legends, and fables, and that the text can generally explain itself by means of the vocabulary and the grammatical forms in Part I.; that the dialogues on every subject which one could discuss with a Dard show idiomatic deviations in practice, and yet are the only means by which a future traveller could detect any mistakes; that these dialogues, vocabularies, and songs extend not to one but to four languages and four dialects, it must be admitted that I have rendered some service to linguistic science. Add to this that my material extends to eleven languages, and that it is only want of leisure which prevents my publishing these treasures, or completing what I have already issued. Unfortunately, I believed at first that scholars had merely to see the results in order to judge of their value by comparison and inner evidence. Instead of this, it was asked how it was possible that one man could have collected so much within so short a time, as if I could possibly be answerable for the slowness of comprehension of others, or their inability correctly to catch a sound. However, scholars who have had occasion subsequently to investigate my work, like Dr. Bellew and Mr. Drew, can now confirm the conscientious accuracy of my renderings; and the small vocabulary of Hayward, who was allowed to grope his own way, instead of being provided with my materials, corroborates them equally. I was also asked why I did not publish an account of my travels, as if I had worked to amuse the general reader, and not to instruct the scholar. It also seems to have been forgotten that I was engaged on an official mission, and that I might think myself bound to suppress a number of incidents which involved others, and which yet were the very life of a book of travels.

After all, I was deputed for "results," and not for personal display, and these results will remain when the above objections will long have been forgotten.

What these results are I would briefly enumerate. First, we have ascertained the existence of a number of languages—one of which, Chilási, the object of my mission, is a mere rude dialect—which were spoken at or before the time that Sanscrit became the "perfect" language. Their grammatical



framework is now within the reach of scholars, whilst the dialogues and vocabularies are of practical use to future travellers.

Secondly, the legends and traditions of the Dards show a more "European" tone and form, if I may use the term, than anything we find in India.

Thirdly, by the adoption of my term "Dardistan," for the countries between Kabul, Kashmir, and Badakhshan, we are led to compare a number of races, which offer certain analogies, and which may have had a certain history in common since the time of Alexander the Great's invasion of India.

Fourthly, our Government now know accurately what they certainly did not know before 1866, namely, the modern history of the countries bordering on Kashmir.

Fifthly, itineraries in all directions, through the whole of the Neutral Zone, are given, to which every possible local information is added. They may not always be strictly geographical, but they will always materially assist the traveller in those unknown regions.

The importance of maps induced me to apply to the eminent geographer, Mr. E. G. Ravenstein, for co-operation. He expresses himself as follows on the subject :—

"The maps have been most carefully constructed with the aid of all the existing material, amongst which the great Trigonometrical Survey, carried on under Colonel Walker, the Trans-Himalayan explorations conducted by Colonel Montgomerie, the researches and surveys of Colonel H. C. Johnstone, Mr. G. J. W. Hayward, Dr. H. W. Bellew, Captain H. G. Raverty, deserve to be particularly mentioned. The itineraries collected by Dr. Leitner, as well as the local information gathered by him in 1866 and embodied in his *Dardistan*, Parts II. and III., (1867-73), have been embodied in these maps, and have largely improved their value. *Chilás*, which is a blank, or nearly so, on the official maps published as recently as 1873, appears full of names; and *Kandiá*, a district to the West of the Indus, now for the first time makes its appearance on any map whatever. The information contained in a native map, a copy of which accompanies this volume, and which has been translated by Dr. Leitner, has been likewise used largely.

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